

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

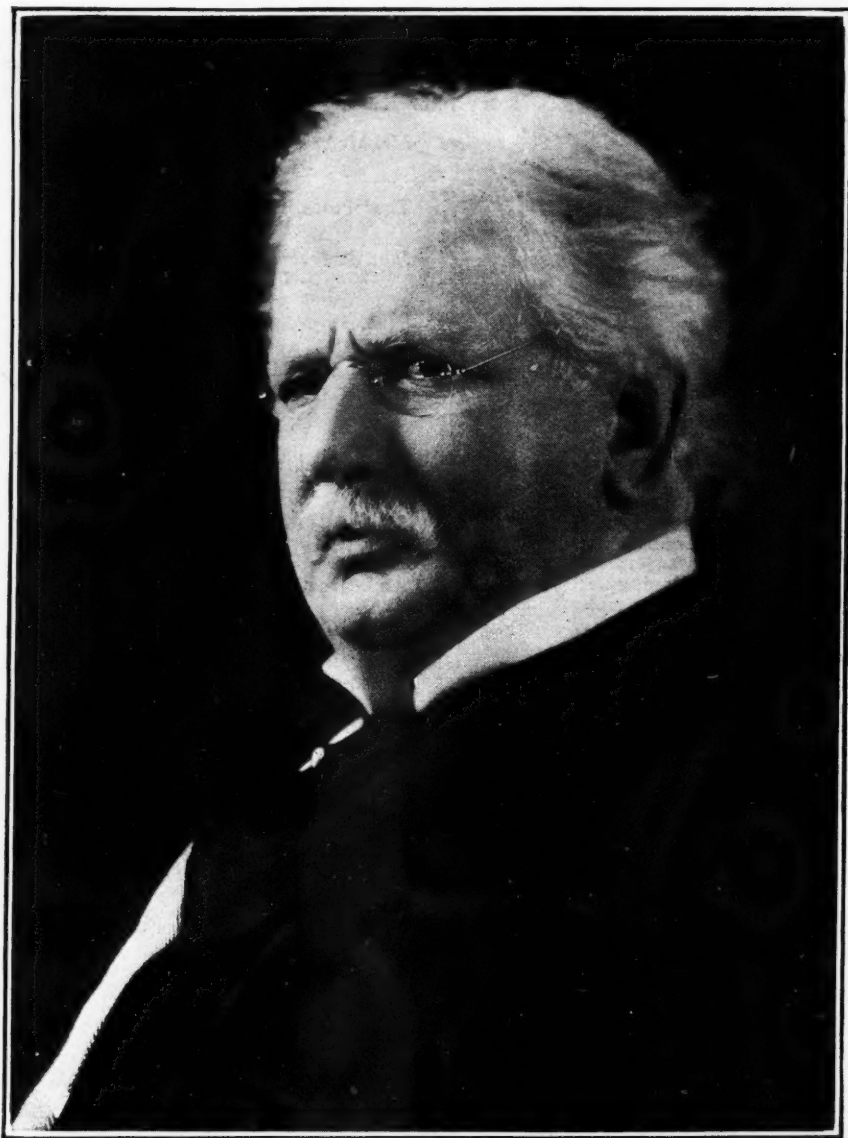
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TERMS:—Issued monthly, 35 cents a number, \$4.00 a year in advance in the United States, Porto Rico, Hawaii, Cuba, Canada, Mexico, and the Philippines. Elsewhere \$5.00. Entered at New York Post Office as second-class matter. Entered as second-class matter at the Post-Office Department, Ottawa, Canada. Subscribers may remit to us by post-office or express money orders, or by bank checks, drafts, or registered letters. Money in letters is sent at sender's risk. Renew as early as possible in order to avoid a break in the receipt of the numbers. Bookdealers, Postmasters and Newsdealers receive subscriptions.

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CO., 30 Irving Place, New York

ALBERT SHAW, Pres. CHAS. D. LANIER, Sec. and Treas.



THE LATE THEODORE N. VAIL, OF TELEPHONE FAME

Mr. Vail, who died on April 16, would have been seventy-five if he had lived until July; but the advancing years had not, until near the end, given warning that his great mental and physical powers were diminishing. He was born in Ohio in 1845, and educated in New Jersey, studying medicine for a time, but becoming a telegraph operator and then a railway mail official. With the advent of the telephone, he saw the great possibilities of that marvelous invention, and it fell to his lot to do more than any other man to build up the telephone business as an adjunct to the daily life of almost every family in the country. It was he who brought the telegraph service into cooperative relations with the local and long distance telephones; and he became the chief adviser of the Post-office Department when it assumed control of the wires as a war measure. He was a man of humane sympathies—a captain of industry, whose business genius contributed to the well-being of countless millions.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LXI

NEW YORK, MAY, 1920

No. 5

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*The Deadlock
at
Washington*

There are times when the formal movements of our government mechanism—with its fixed terms and the stately periodicity of a planetary system—are envied by foreign politicians and regarded with gratified complacency by our own people. The Constitution has served our needs for 132 years, and neither its friends nor its enemies could, at the present time, be trusted to change it in fundamental respects. Perhaps, however, at some future time it can safely be made a little more elastic, in order that the working government may respond more promptly to the forces of public opinion. The deadlock at Washington of March, 1920, must await the incoming of a new administration in March, 1921. The average duration in power of a Premier and Cabinet during the half-century of the present French Republic has been perhaps six months. Some French administrations have lasted several years and others only a few days. The average length of a British Ministry has been much greater; but the British system, like the French, responds to changes of sentiment, so that in times of stress or emergency the guidance of the ship of state may be quickly turned over from one master to another. Thus Asquith was superseded by Lloyd George, just as in France Clemenceau was substituted for Poincaré, while more recently Millerand has taken the helm, with Clemenceau retired to private life.

*Chances
Involved in
Fixed Terms*

If war had been expected by the American people in the summer and fall of 1916, it is quite possible that Mr. Roosevelt would have been made President. But when Mr. Wilson had been reelected, as the exponent of a peace policy and as head of an administration that did not much believe in military preparedness, we were without any constitutional arrangement by means of which we could

create a special kind of war government, in imitation of foreign countries, for the war period upon which we were destined so soon to enter. But all parties and factions rose to the support of Mr. Wilson, who became a war President beyond cavil. Let us suppose that Mr. Buchanan had won a second term in the election of 1860, so that upon him, instead of Mr. Lincoln, should have devolved the immense responsibilities of the presidency in a period of war. Mr. Buchanan was a sincere lover of his country and a man of great public experience. Very probably he would in the end have defended the Union steadfastly. He might, however, have failed as a war President. Nevertheless, if death or serious illness had not intervened, he would have held his place as President and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States until March 4, 1865. The country would have had to bear the consequences of its own exercise of judgment if it had accorded to Mr. Buchanan a second term.

*English and
American
Systems*

In December, 1918, taking advantage of the popular mood that had been produced by the armistice of the previous month, Mr. Lloyd George found pretexts upon which to call a general election. This, under the political conditions then existing, was quite certain to result in a great Coalition majority in support of a further lease of power for himself and his ministerial group. But now, after the lapse of less than a year and a half, the pendulum is moving decidedly in the opposite direction and it is not unlikely that within the coming year there may be another election and a change in party control and governing personnel. In the United States we have opportunity to register changes of party sentiment in our Congressional elections every two years; but our system, which

separates the executive and legislative departments and which creates a presidency clothed with unique power, gives opportunity of change once in four years with no way of shortening the period or of revoking the decision. This rigidity of mechanism chafes, at times, the impatient people who become disaffected toward the existing order of things. But there are evidently counterbalancing advantages that have been convincing enough to sustain the system through a period comprising the entire nineteenth century and the fringes of the eighteenth and the twentieth.

*Should the
President's Term
Be Lengthened?*

Furthermore, there is no serious proposal that looks to a change of our system of fixed terms. Many public men, indeed, are on record as favoring an extension of the President's four-year term to six, seven, or eight years. The reason usually given is that a presidential campaign, as we conduct it, is such a long-drawn-out and all-absorbing ordeal that the quadrennial period does not afford sufficient relief from the strain. The political parties, with their unofficial methods and their officially protected primaries, have become a part of the working mechanism of the national government, so that from first to last the quadrennial processes through which we choose a president are complex beyond anything known to the political systems of other countries. The business of electing a president is indeed burdensome; but the office itself has been clothed with so many extensions of discretion and power that a majority of thoughtful citizens would not be likely to vote in favor of lengthening the term. The people can make it eight years if they decide to accord a second period to a president of whom they approve.

*Let the
Dates
Be Changed!*

A president who is not strongly entrenched in public favor may indeed dominate his own party and secure a renomination in June; but he will be quite likely to meet his fate at the polls in November. There is no law against a third consecutive term, but the reasons against it are so overwhelming in their nature and so widely recognized that no law is necessary. We shall, then, undoubtedly keep on with our system of quadrennial elections of the chief executive, and with the existing terms for Representatives and Senators. There is, however, one constitutional change that would lessen some of the disadvantages of the system, while not affecting its

essentials. When in our States we elect governors and legislatures in November, they take office, as a rule, at the beginning of January. When, on the other hand, we elect a new national House of Representatives next November, the present House, elected in 1918, will continue to function until the 4th of March, 1921. When a new parliament is elected in England, the old parliament is never again convened. In contrast, our expiring Congress always meets for its second regular session a month after its successor has been chosen. The new Congress will not meet for thirteen months after its election, unless the new President, who is installed four months after the election, should call a special session. The dates should be so changed that as soon as possible after the November election the President-elect should take office and the Congress-elect should assemble for business.

*How
Deadlocks
Come About*

Two years ago, during the congressional campaign, President Wilson chose to give a new emphasis to the party character of American government by demanding the election of a Democratic Congress that should operate under his leadership during the second half of his last term. The country disregarded his appeal and elected a Republican majority in both House and Senate. This situation has resulted in a deadlock from which the United States has greatly suffered. The rest of the world, moreover, has been painfully injured through our inability to proceed with the international business rendered necessary by reason of the part we played in the waging of the war and in the negotiations that resulted in the armistice. With four-year presidential terms and two-year congressional terms, such deadlocks are to be expected if the President is to regard himself as a party leader and also as an initiator of legislation. President Wilson has insisted upon being the leader of the Democratic party in much more than a merely nominal fashion. He has also endeavored to shape and direct congressional policy.

*How
Majority Rule
Is Affected*

It is plain, however, that a President who insists upon his function as the leader of the Democratic party cannot very well expect to succeed in guiding and controlling the legislative policies of a Republican Congress that has come with a fresh mandate from the people in express opposition to the President.

In a country where majorities rule, the leader of the minority party cannot have everything his own way, even though he continues to occupy the White House. Mr. Wilson's logic of 1918 was good as far as it went, but it was not carried through to its final conclusions. His argument was that there ought to be working harmony between President and Congress, for the best interests of the country. Therefore, he asked the country to elect a Democratic Congress to support him. Logical consistency might have led him to say that, if the country chose to elect Republican majorities in both Houses, he would, to some extent at least, recognize the will of the country and act in such a way as to minimize the danger of deadlocks that would be detrimental to the public interest. Under such circumstances—according to European views—a President would naturally resign from office, if there were any arrangement by which his place could be filled by a leader who would work in better harmony with the newly chosen representatives of the people.

*The Situation
Not
Ordinary*

If the President is henceforth to be an active party leader, there must come a time—not soon, perhaps twenty or thirty years hence—when the capture of Congress by the other party may be regarded as having somewhat the

nature of a "recall." It may be suggested at least that President Wilson might have proceeded more tactfully after the country had given Republican majorities in 1918. The great work then facing him was the appointment of commissioners to represent us in Europe in the framing of the Peace Treaty. It is said that some of his closest advisers urged him to recognize the fact of the recent Republican victory in selecting the country's delegates to Paris. Unfortunately this advice was not accepted. The making of peace and the readjustments following the war constituted the principal business that pertained to the remainder of Mr. Wilson's term of office. These matters of public business were of the most profound and far-reaching importance. Partisan deadlocks were to have been avoided by forethought and care, for these were not ordinary times.

*Advantages
of War-time
Coalition*

Mr. Wilson's appeal for the election of a Democratic Congress placed emphasis upon partisanship at a time when the country as a whole had been supporting war policies in disregard of party lines. Mr. Lloyd George's appeal to the English voters only a few weeks later was on exactly opposite grounds. The British leader demanded further suspension of partisanship and the maintenance of the Coalition majority, so that the country might have the benefit of unity in its non-domestic policies through the critical period of peacemaking. Much of the extraordinary British success in the work at Paris and Versailles was due to the overwhelming non-partisan victory won by Lloyd George at the polls in December, 1918. The new Parliament was ready, without delay, to uphold the Prime Minister and the Cabinet. The peace treaty was immediately ratified. British activities in all parts of the world, far from being weakened or frustrated through deadlocks or disputes at London, were quickened by strong and assured support. It is only now, when foreign adjustments following the war have been largely agreed upon, that the domestic issues within the United Kingdom begin to suggest the early end of Coalition Government and the resumption of party divisions.



GETTING RESTIVE

From the *Daily Province* (Vancouver, B. C.)

[This cartoon from a Western Canadian paper shows the prevailing view that President Wilson has been too intent upon his own personal responsibilities for the policies of America]

*Difficulties
of the
Party System*

If the British elections in December, 1918, had gone against Mr. Lloyd George and his program, there would have been an immediate change in the personnel of the executive gov-



ENTIRELY UNADOPTABLE

From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco, Cal.)

[Here we have a typical anti-Wilson cartoon on the Senate's rejection of the treaty and its return to President Wilson]

ernment, and also, of course, in that of the Peace-delegation at Paris. Our system, in contrast to the English, makes possible a change in the Congressional majorities without a change in the executive personnel. As a result of this fact, there is danger of deadlock that interfere with the transaction of public business and bring serious harm to the country. When a Republican President has a Democratic Congress "on his hands," or *vice versa*, it would be well for the occupant of the White House to remember that the Constitution did not contemplate any such thing as party leadership by the President. Once in the office, the President was expected to be the head not of a party but of the whole nation. He was expected to show full respect for the constitutional powers and functions of Congress, and to work as well as he could with the representatives of the people. Our practical trouble is that if a semi-hostile attitude is created between the executive and the legislative branches, we have, within certain areas of power, something like two rival governing authorities.

Our Rival Authorities

The President, with the numerous functionaries that he controls, could carry on a bureaucratic government without regard to Congress, except for the raising of taxes and the

voting of appropriations. Congress, on the other hand, with its immense financial power, with the Senate's authority to reject or confirm executive appointments, and with its power over foreign affairs through its check upon the President's treaty-making functions, might readily enough be developed into a complete government on the British or European plan. Furthermore, in the last resort, the Congress has the power to impeach the President; while the President has no corresponding power to dismiss or prorogue a Congress and to call for a new election. It is not necessary to prolong these observations, but it is well to call the attention of our readers to the fact that publicists and statesmen in other countries are at this time studying the American system of government and trying to fathom the nature and the causes of a deadlock that seems to these onlookers virtually a paralysis of functioning capacity in matters of the most vital concern.

The Treaty Killed in the Senate

Europe remembers that the United States had taken the most widely advertised part in the formulation of a great treaty of peace,—a treaty which affects in a life-and-death way the fortunes of at least a thousand million people. Now, after many months of discussion at Washington, the treaty has been rejected through processes so baffling that men of the utmost sincerity and of high intelligence are unable to agree in fixing the responsibility. Among the ablest and most disinterested supporters of the treaty in its main aspects there is a clear difference of opinion as to whether the failure to ratify it is due to President Wilson or to the Republican Senators under the leadership of Mr. Lodge. There had been a small group of Senators, mostly Republicans, with Senator Borah as their leading spokesman, who were known as "irreconcilables" in their opposition to the treaty and the League of Nations. A considerable majority of the Senate, under Mr. Lodge's leadership, was in favor of the treaty if accompanied by a resolution in which certain distinctions were made and certain so-called "reservations" were set forth. It was understood that enough Democratic Senators were ready to support the treaty (with reservations) to give more than the requisite two-thirds majority, unless this should mean a break with President Wilson. Absurd subtleties were involved in the Senate discussion of Article X, mystery enshrouded the White House position.

Who
Was
Responsible?

When the final vote came, it was charged that there was an alliance between Senator Lodge and the Borah group to make the reservations still more distasteful and thus to defeat the treaty. It was similarly charged that there was an alliance between the White House forces and the Borah group, also for the purpose of defeating the treaty. It had been ascertained several months ago, following Lord Grey's return to England, that the European governments regarded the reservations as a matter of almost purely American concern, and were willing to accept them. If one should take the membership of the League to Enforce Peace, and further include many others not actively connected with societies working for the League of Nations, it would be found we have a very large body of citizens who believe that the treaty could have been ratified but for personal and partisan attitudes at Washington. But, while many of these excellent people locate the blame for such personal and partisan attitudes in the White House, there are many others equally sincere who locate the chief blame in the Senate.

Delay
Weakened
the Treaty

One thing seems to be reasonably clear, and that is this: The treaty could have been ratified with very moderate reservations soon after it was first presented to the Senate if there had been a fortunate spirit of coöperation be-



THE BUCCANEERS

From the News (Dallas, Texas)

[The two cartoons on this page are typical of those which appeared in the Democratic papers supporting President Wilson and advocating the adoption of the treaty]



THE ACCUSER

From the World (New York)

tween the two branches of the Government. But the longer the discussion went on, the more definite became the criticism of the treaty, and the larger grew the mass of those opposed to it in its original form. A second question has, therefore, arisen in addition to the first one as to the relative responsibility of the White House and the Senate. This second question relates to public opinion, apart from official sentiment and action. When Mr. Wilson brought the treaty home, its ratification was confidently expected. But the criticisms which led to the framing of reservations went far to hurt the popular prestige of the treaty as a whole. The speeches of able campaigners, like Senator Borah, Senator Johnson, Senator Reed, and others, had the greater effect because of the delays at Washington and the prejudices that were awakened by one incident after another. As a consequence, friends of the treaty were thrown upon the defensive for a number of reasons not strictly relevant.

Armistice Was
Wilson's
Masterpiece

When President Wilson had secured the acceptance of the Fourteen Points as the basis of negotiations, with the result that they were embodied in the terms of the armistice agreement, his international statesmanship had secured an unparalleled triumph. The armistice itself, besides bringing actual peace, embodied the major points of a future settlement, including the League of Nations, disarmament, reparation, territorial adjustments with the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, and so on. Mr. Wilson had laid



© Harris & Ewing

SENATOR WILLIAM E. BORAH, OF IDAHO

(Mr. Borah's position with respect to the treaty has been free from ambiguity. By argument and by parliamentary tactics, he has consistently sought its defeat)

down the principles of settlement; and these had been accepted by England, France, Italy, Japan, and by Germany also. But Mr. Wilson was President of the United States, and not a diplomatic agent. It was not his function to apply the principles of the armistice to situations in detail. The elections had already apprised him that through his last two years he must deal with a Republican Senate and with a Republican House of Representatives. This meant a Republican Foreign Relations Committee in the Senate, a Republican Ways and Means Committee in the House, and the desirability of lifting foreign questions out of the atmosphere of partisanship. The principles of the armistice for which Mr. Wilson deserves so much credit would have been safe at the hands of an American peace delegation of which our only ex-President might well have been made the Chairman.

*Subsequent
Error of
Methods*

The President's great prestige was destined to needless impairment by his self-appointment as a negotiator in Europe. He could have directed affairs in a more masterful and efficient way if he had remained in the White House. Through his absence he lost his former control of affairs here at home; while,

on the other hand, after his return here he lost the power over situations abroad that he had acquired while in Paris. We are not ascribing blame nor assuming to criticize, but are merely reciting plain facts. The President had not been at pains either to use such methods or to select such agents as would have been likely to gain the prompt approval of the Senate for the finished work. He had relied upon securing the support of public opinion, rather than that of politicians, for the vindication of his efforts abroad. But the strain upon his health and strength had been too great, and illness overtook him while touring the country to win favor for his treaty by oratorical appeal. The treaty had been put upon final vote in the Senate, with the Lodge reservations, on November 10, 1919, and had fallen short of securing the necessary two-thirds vote for ratification. Soon afterward it was recalled and brought before the Senate again upon the understanding encouraged by Senator Hitchcock and other Democratic leaders that compromise reservations might be agreed upon and the treaty passed with White House approval.

*Final
Rejection
in March*

This effort was of no avail, however, and on March 19, by a vote of 49 in favor and 35 against, the treaty failed because of a lack of seven more affirmative votes to constitute the necessary two-thirds majority. These additional votes would have been readily forthcoming if such action had been favored by the President. There seems to have been some ground for the charge that the enemies of the treaty helped as much as they could to load it with unpalatable reservations (which of course were added by a simple majority vote) in order to make sure that the treaty as thus modified would fail of securing two-thirds on the final test. The last of these reservations, which was rather suddenly brought forward the day before the final vote, related to Ireland and read as follows:

In consenting to the ratification of the treaty with Germany the United States adheres to the principle of self-determination and to the resolution of sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of their own choice adopted by the Senate June 6, 1919, and declares that when such government is attained by Ireland, a consummation it is hoped is at hand, it should promptly be admitted as a member of the league of nations.

This Irish clause had been adopted by a

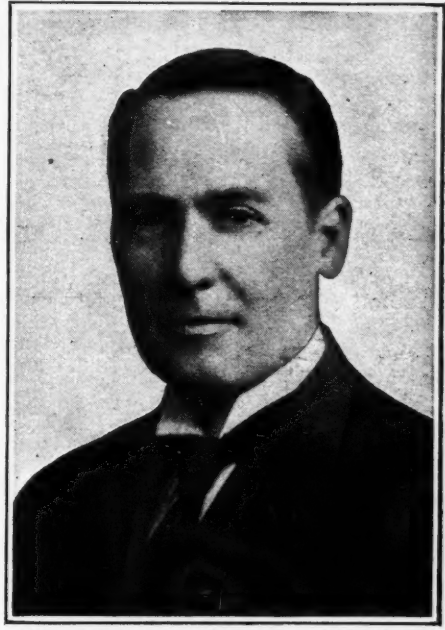
vote of 38 to 36 after several hours of vigorous discussion of political conditions in Ireland. Seventeen Republicans voted for it and twenty against it. Twenty-one Democrats voted for it and sixteen against it. It was not to be taken seriously as an expression on the Irish question, but rather to be regarded as a maneuver in the struggle for and against the ratification of the treaty.

*Peace
Resolutions
in Congress*

Following the rejection of the treaty in March, there was brought forward in each house of Congress a plan to end the war in the legal and technical sense by the passage of a joint resolution which should rescind the action by Congress when in the spring of 1917 it declared that a state of war existed. The resolution in the House of Representatives was brought forward by Hon. Stephen G. Porter, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House. It was proposed to pass this resolution on April 6, the third anniversary of our declaration of war. This did not prove possible, but it was actually passed by the House on April 9 by a vote of 242 to 150. As many as twenty-two Democrats voted in the affirmative with the Republicans, while one Republican and one or two Independents voted in the negative with the Democrats. Champ Clark, the former Democratic Speaker, declared that President Wilson would veto such a resolution; and the Hon. Bainbridge Colby, the new Secretary of State, was reported as having explained the President's objections to leading Democratic members of the House.

*Nature
of the
Proposal*

The resolutions provide that the date of their taking effect shall be that of the legal termination of the war. They further provide that Americans shall have such rights and advantages as they would have had if the treaty of Versailles had been ratified. Having passed the House, the resolutions were sent to the Senate and referred to the Foreign Relations Committee. Mr. Lodge was planning to report them favorably within a few days, and it was expected that the Senate would adopt them, perhaps as early as the beginning of May. It was not, on the other hand, believed in any quarter that President Wilson would accept this solution; nor was it thought likely that the necessary two-thirds vote could be secured in either House to pass the resolutions over a veto. The situation had assumed a strictly partisan form.



HON. STEPHEN G. PORTER, OF PITTSBURGH, PA.
(Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs)

*Peace
Now
"in Politics"*

Thus we are confronted again by the difficulties of a deadlock; and we are reminded of those stately and measured intervals that must elapse under our system of government before a deadlock can certainly be broken. This issue of peace is now quite certain to be involved in the presidential elections. It cannot be kept out of the nominating conventions in June. It will have a large place in the campaign that precedes the elections of a President and a new Congress in November. It may happen that the country will elect a President and a Congress emphatically opposed to President Wilson and his policies. Nevertheless, after this may have happened, President Wilson will keep firm control of the executive government, including the treaty-making power, until March 4 of next year. If a Republican Congress strong enough to override a veto should be elected in November, it could not avail to break the deadlock, because the old Congress, with its large Democratic minority, does not expire until March. As we have already remarked, there is much to be said in favor of changes that would put an end to the functioning of an old Congress after a new Congress had been chosen, and that would seat the new President within a month or two after his election.



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MR. COLBY (SECRETARY OF STATE) AND MR. MEREDITH (SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE)

(On their way to the White House to attend their first Cabinet meeting)

**President
Meets the
Cabinet**

Another alternative is for the President to change his attitude regarding party government, and to abandon the idea that the chief executive should remain the head of a party after it has lost its Congressional majorities, with its control of the committees. Another change theoretically possible is to create a Cabinet that would bear some working relation to the controlling majorities in Congress. There is no likelihood at all, however, that so radical a change as this could be brought about in the near future. President Wilson, on April 14, held the first Cabinet meeting to be called by him since September 2 of last year, a period of more than seven months. There were four members of the Cabinet who had never before attended one of these meetings. These were Mr. Colby, the new Secretary of State; Mr. Payne, Secretary of the Interior; Mr. Meredith, Secretary of Agriculture, and Mr. Alexander, Secretary of Commerce. The country was relieved and gratified that the President should be able to resume Cabinet meetings, and that he was described as in genial mood

and equal to the discussion of current problems. It was reported that Attorney-General Palmer and Labor Secretary Wilson gave the President information relating to the railroad strikes which, beginning in a seemingly sporadic way, here and there—notably in and about Chicago—had swept across the country, greatly restricting the movement of freight and in many places tying up passenger traffic.

**Railroad
Strikes
Last Month**

The Attorney-General doubtless had grounds for holding that the strikes were to some extent promoted by agents of disorder and revolution. There was truth, on the other hand, in the reports that many of the strikers went out in order to call sharp attention to the delays in the official treatment of the demands for higher wages that had some months ago been promised to certain classes of railway workers. Meanwhile, it was discovered that the labor board which had been authorized in the new railway legislation, some weeks ago, had not yet been named. The President made haste to remedy this omission by announcing on April 15 the names of the nine members—three on behalf of the public, three for railway labor, and three for railway management. The strike leaders immediately notified this board, and other authorities at Washington, that they desired to avail themselves of the opportunity provided by it for a consideration of their grievances in accordance with the terms of the new transportation act. The act, however, requires that the grievances be presented while the men are still at work, and not subsequent to a strike.

**A
Valuable
Experience**

According to all indications, therefore, this attempt at a general strike—which, in fact, took the form of a great number of separated movements, especially in freight yards and among brakemen—was collapsing rapidly after the announcement that the board was appointed and would meet promptly at Washington for business. There was some criticism to the effect that the members were not sufficiently experienced in railway affairs, but there was general disposition to let the board make its reputation by its achievements. The nine members are as follows: For the public, R. M. Barton, G. Wallace W. Hanger, and Henry Hunt; for railway labor, Albert Phillips, A. O. Wharton, and James J. Forrester; for railway

management, Horace Baker, J. H. Elliot, and William L. Park. The strike seems to have had some useful results of an incidental kind, and in several ways it proved a valuable experience. It enforced the lesson that organized labor must learn to control its own forces and to keep its agreements, if it is to maintain in future the influence of its recent past. The regular leaders of the railway brotherhoods were opposed to the strike, but were not in complete control. Another useful result of the strike was the lesson to the general public that thousands of men not regularly employed on railroads must learn how to operate trains in case of need. Our large city populations must not be imperiled as regards supplies of food and fuel by reckless strikes.

*The
New Public
Attitude*

The labor leaders are to be commended for the courageous and outspoken way in which they assert their rights, fight the battles of their unions, and make their demands upon the public. They cannot object, therefore, if other classes defend their own interests with equal foresight and vigor. As long as the railway brotherhoods claim the right to strike and tie up the movement of traffic, there should be an organization of citizens many millions strong, well equipped to see that transportation goes on in case the regular workers abandon their jobs. Last month, thousands of students enrolled, along with commuters and other citizens, to keep trains moving. Some classes of railway workers are underpaid, compared with the wages of common labor and with the increased cost of living. They should have just and prompt treatment in order that they may not be tempted to go on strike. It is the intention of the new transportation law that railroads shall be allowed to charge enough for their services to pay proper wages and to obtain all the capital they need at current rates in the money market. The best judges of the amount of these charges are the railway managers themselves. It is to be hoped that the Interstate Commerce Commission will acquire a broad view of the situation, and not spend months or years in reaching decisions that could better be made in a week. The public must now have its innings, hav-



MR. HERBERT HOOVER, MR. OSCAR S. STRAUS, AND MR. FRANK W. TAUSSIG

(From a snapshot taken while they were in Washington as members of the recent Industrial Conference)

ing been sufficiently victimized by the other interests.

*Seeking
Industrial
Harmony*

The President's second industrial conference, with Secretary Wilson as Chairman and Mr. Herbert Hoover as Vice-Chairman, had proceeded harmoniously and had made an interesting report which was presented to the public on March 20. This report was not quickly formulated, and it cannot be grasped in all its bearings without thoughtful study. It proposes a system of national scope for settling labor disputes to be created by Congress and the President. It must be borne in mind that the coal strike, the steel strike, and the threatened railway strikes, led to the calling of the first and second industrial conferences. Thus the proposed system, although planned upon a local and regional as well as a national basis, is to be considered chiefly in reference to large national crises. A national Industrial Board at Washington is recommended, and subordinate regional conferences are planned, with a regional public official who acts as Chairman and endeavors to settle a dispute without its going up to the national board. The plan contemplates labor organization and collective bargaining; but it admits of shop committees representing a given local industry, and

thus it does not meet the views of Mr. Gompers and the leaders of the old-line trade-unionism.

*When
Principles
Triumph*

A great many suggestions and proposals having to do with the improvement of industrial society are touched upon in the report. At the basis of it all is the idea that labor and capital ought to coöperate in a much more friendly and effective way, with resulting gains that ought to benefit both parties rather than the one or the other. These principles are already being adopted and applied in hundreds of industries; and the reading of this report will encourage the efforts of good employers to deal fairly and in a broad spirit with the men and women whom they employ, seeking the best welfare of all the men, women, and children in the neighborhood. Since the object of trade-unionism is the advancement of the workers, there should be only praise on the part of the union leaders for employers who propose to outbid unionism in actively promoting all the advantageous things that unionism stands for. Unionism has helped to make many creditable chapters of industrial history, but it should not regard itself as a crusading religion, or as destined to dominate in any class spirit. Its best triumph is to be found in the attainment of the social objects for which it had labored and maintained its existence through several generations. It has at times justly denounced the tyranny of capital, and it will do well to avoid, on its own part, the temptations that come with the sense of power.

*Labor
in
Politics*

As we have remarked in the preceding paragraph, the real triumph of organized labor is not to be found in its power to dominate, but rather in the acceptance and success of the principles of justice for workers that unionism has endeavored to propagate since its stormy beginnings in the early part of the last century. Federated unionism, with the splendid organization at Washington, has decided upon an active and aggressive part in the elections of the present year. The campaign committee of federated unionism, with Mr. Samuel Gompers at its head, has set forth an extensive list of principles and measures that it believes should be embodied in legislation. Most of the planks in this labor platform are to be commended as representing sincere efforts for social progress well within recognized constitutional lines. Some

things, like government ownership of public utilities, as advocated in this labor platform, are regarded in business circles as not so much questions of principle as of efficiency in practise. Mr. Gompers and the American Federation are not in favor of a separate labor party, although many labor unionists take a different view and are identified with a third-party movement that has already been launched.

*Scrutiny
of All
Candidates*

The method proposed by Mr. Gompers and adopted by the Federation leaders is to scrutinize the candidates of all parties, selecting for support those regarded as friendly, and marking for defeat those regarded as hostile to the interests of organized labor. This is a course that has often been pursued by other special and definite interests, in advancement of their own cause or their own object, whether selfish or unselfish in motive. The danger is that, in applying the tests and making the lists of labor's friends and labor's enemies, there will be lack of true discrimination. For example, it is said that Senator Cummins has been marked for defeat because his railroad bill as originally presented, after carefully providing for the presentation of labor grievances, set up a method of adjustment that would remove just excuse for strikes, and then forbade concerted movements to stop transportation. In times past, railroad labor was contending for certain definite things. Almost everything has been conceded in the way of remedy for old-time grievances. Above all there has been fully conceded the right to unionize, to present grievances, to have impartial investigation, and to have adjustment through arbitrators or by some similar method intended to secure justice.

*Who Are
"Labor's
Enemies"?*

The proposal to prevent railroad strikes was not made in a spirit adverse to labor, but on the principle that uninterrupted transportation is a basic need of all classes, including the great body of workers in towns and cities. There was nothing personal in Senator Cummins' attitude, and he is far from being an opponent of labor. It would be better to support strong, capable, and courageous public men like Senator Cummins, in spite of some differences regarding public policy, rather than to select subservient men ready to make any required pledges in advance but not capable of useful service in high office. Labor, like

every other interest, needs honest, just, capable, and courageous men in public places. It is an interesting experiment that has been undertaken by the union leaders as regards the elections this year. It is their plan publicly to approve or disapprove of the nominees for the Presidency. It is their further plan to check-list all nominees for the United States Senate and for the House of Representatives, whether Republican or Democratic.

*How the
Method Will
Work*

Naturally, a nominee for Congress in Massachusetts or California, who is put on labor's blacklist, will appeal to the voters of his constituency for support on the ground that Mr. Gompers and the Labor leaders are invading his district and attempting to dictate in their own interest. This method has not merely been suggested by the Federation leaders, but has been already launched with superb organization, ramifying the entire country, and with millions of unionized workers who are supposed to be willing to have their political action as citizens directed by the professional heads of union labor. Carrying the labor movement into politics is perfectly legitimate, and it does not in the smallest degree affect the rights of candidates; neither does it affect the freedom of voters. It is quite as permissible to act in this way as to act through a distinct Labor Party. We are merely suggesting that the movement will be likely to gain more if it proceeds broadly than if it proceeds narrowly. Better gain "friends" by generosity than antagonize good men by calling them "enemies."

*What About
Governor
Allen?*

The attitude of organized labor toward Governor Allen of Kansas affords an instance worth considering. Henry J. Allen has in past years been known as one of the most democratic, progressive, and open-minded public men of the entire West. Surely he could never have been suspected in the past of being an "enemy of labor." Last winter, when the bituminous coal strike prevailed and the people of Kansas were in danger of freezing for lack of fuel, Governor Allen led the movement which took over on behalf of the State the temporary control and operation of coal mines. This State movement was opposed alike by the capitalists operating the mines and the unionized strikers. It was supported, however, by the people of Kansas as a whole because the issue was one of life

and death. Thousands of citizens volunteered to mine coal, and the strike was promptly broken. Governor Allen fully recognized the fact that the miners had grievances, and that the mining industry was badly conducted. There were always lack of a proper reserve supply of coal, lack of a proper system of distribution, and lack of reasonable continuity of employment for the miners.

*Protection for
Essential
Services*

But it came to be the prevailing view in Kansas that the processes of supplying the people with food, fuel, and transportation were so "affected with a public interest" that they ought to come under an especial form of protection. The country has now everywhere expressed itself to the effect that policemen, firemen, school teachers, and postal employees must not assert those rights to strike in support of private demands that are permitted in private occupations. In like manner, Kansas proposed that there should not be strikes that would stop the production and supply of the most vital necessities of life. This idea was embodied in a law. The law might merely have prohibited strikes in those particular industries; and, if it had stopped there, the workmen would have been quite free to drift away to other pursuits, compelling employers to pay higher wages and to meet all just requirements. But the Kansas law established the Court of Industrial Relations in order that labor in the specified necessary industries might secure the direct and immediate remedy of their grievances without having to strike or to seek other employment. As we read the law, its intentions were wholly favorable to labor.

*Kansas Law
Under Critical
Test*

Whether or not the statute is destined to provide a permanent solution for the pressing problem it was intended to meet, there was good reason for giving the plan a fair trial. It is one thing to criticize the Kansas law and to predict its failure, but it is quite a different thing to mark the very friendly and human personage who is Governor of Kansas as an "enemy" of labor. Last month a considerable strike of Kansas coal miners broke out, simultaneously with the sporadic railroad strikes. The newly established Court of Industrial Relations found itself with a critical situation on its hands very early in its career. This was wholly fortunate, because it was an open challenge of the law and a defiance of the authority of government in



GENERAL WOOD GREETING THE CHILDREN OF ISHPERING DURING THE MICHIGAN PRIMARY CAMPAIGN LAST MONTH

the State. Since such an issue was likely to arise under the Kansas act, it was well to have it come promptly.

*The Issue
Certain to Be
Met*

It must not be thought that a permanent adjustment is to be found solely in the submission of the striking miners to the requirements of the law. There must be sincere and intelligent efforts on the part of the mine owners and operators not merely to remedy obvious grievances, but to provide positively favorable conditions for working miners and their families, including assurance of steady employment. Much must depend upon the vigor of the new Industrial Relations Court in applying the remedies which the law places in its hands. Certain arrests were promptly made, but the strike had caused a situation admittedly difficult to deal with. Back of any such law as that which Kansas has adopted must be the force of public opinion. The people of Kansas have shown that they can mine their own coal, and that they will not allow labor disputes henceforth to imperil the town populations. In like manner, the people of Kansas are quite certain to uphold their own laws.

*The
Political
Campaigns*

The railroad strikes changed the campaigning plans of General Leonard Wood in the middle of April. He is in command of the military department which has its headquarters at Chi-

cago, but he had obtained a two months' leave with permission to wear civilian dress in pursuance of his candidacy for the Republican nomination. The rapid extension and serious menace of the railway strikes led him to return to his post of military duty. He soon resumed his campaign work, although keeping in closer touch with Chicago headquarters. As the period of the preliminary campaigns grows shorter—little more than a single month remaining—we shall not attempt to make forecasts; neither can we definitely picture a situation that is subject to rapid change. The Republican primaries have shown that General Wood sustains his rank as the foremost candidate on the national plane.

*An Unpledged
Republican
Convention*

It had become evident that the Republican Convention, which meets at Chicago on June 8, would not be controlled by pledged delegates. The total membership of the Convention will be 984. It will require, therefore, 493 votes to win the nomination. Less than 250 delegates had been actually chosen up to April 10, and of these less than 100 had been instructed for Wood, while fully 100 more were supporters of Wood, although unpledged. In a number of States, which will send delegations primarily supporting some favorite son, General Wood holds the rank of second choice; and this, of course, is greatly in his favor. The Wood supporters professed to be much gratified by the result of the Illinois primaries on April 13. Governor Lowden carried the State handsomely, his two competitors being General Wood and Senator Johnson. The Lowden vote amounted to a clear majority over all; but General Wood obtained about two-thirds as many votes as Governor Lowden, and this would clearly indicate that the General is the second choice of Illinois. Politicians were looking forward with particular interest to the Ohio primaries of April 27th, those of Massachusetts and New Jersey occurring on the same date.

*Spending
Money in
Politics*

A great discussion had arisen among the supporters of the rival candidates concerning the relative amounts of money used in pushing these particular efforts. It was admitted that large sums were being expended on behalf of General Wood, but it was not for a moment intimated that money was being used on behalf of any candidate to secure support by cor-

rupt means. There were halls to be hired, travelling expenses to be met, printing bills to be paid, besides salaries of clerks and stenographers. Primary election campaigns, if really organized and pushed, can become expensive without employing any methods except those of recognized publicity. It is hard to know exactly how to define and limit such expenditures. One prominent candidate can truthfully say that the sums of money directly raised and expended on his behalf are not large. Yet it so happens that the publicity work done for that particular candidate by one series of newspapers would probably have cost more than a million dollars, if reckoned at the price of paper and printing or at regular space rates for advertising. Senator Borah, from one standpoint, and the labor leaders from another standpoint, have been calling upon the candidates to state the amounts contributed and expended in their preliminary campaigns.

*Wood's
Open
Methods*

It is wholly beneficial that there should be as little secrecy as possible about these expenditures. But in the case of General Wood it may well be stated that nothing could be less mysterious or concealed than the methods that have been used to advance his candidacy. It has been a matter of open organization, carried on extensively, and it has therefore been expensive. The most valuable asset to General Wood by far has been the unsolicited friendliness of many Republican newspapers, and the wholly voluntary activities of many thousands of citizens who favor Leonard Wood's nomination. A forced candidacy for the office of President is always offensive to good taste. Organization work and money expenditure should follow, rather than precede, a recognized public demand. The candidacy of General Wood, like that of Governor Lowden, and also like that of Senators Johnson and Harding, has had a sufficient basis in public demand to have won its recognition in the gathering at Chicago in June, even if no money had been expended by a central campaign committee such as that which Mr. Procter heads on behalf of General Wood.

*Johnson
a Formidable
Candidate*

The candidacy of Senator Johnson has assumed a steadily growing position by reason of the popular support accorded it in several primaries. Thus in the Michigan primary of April 5, Senator Johnson carried the city of

Detroit by so overwhelming a majority as thereby to win the State, in spite of the Wood majorities in practically all of the other Congressional districts. Several reasons have been assigned for Johnson's remarkable popularity in Detroit. The main fact, however, is that his success in Michigan added immensely to his prestige as a candidate. This growth of respect for the Johnson movement was not diminished by the large vote accorded to the Senator in the city of Chicago, although he was not actively concerned in the Illinois primaries. His name will be prominent in some of the Eastern primaries; but interest in the Johnson movement is almost wholly concentrated upon California, where the test will be made on May 4. Four years ago Senator Johnson, running as a Republican candidate for the United States Senate, carried his own State of California by a majority of about 300,000, while the State was carried for the Democratic presidential electors, thus producing the unexpected and surprising result of giving President Wilson a second term. Governor Johnson, as running mate with Colonel Roosevelt on the Progressive ticket in 1912, had shown himself a powerful campaigner and had made many friends among the Republican elements that were supporting Roosevelt. Among leading Republican candidates, Johnson is the only



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SENATOR JOHNSON, WITH ONE OF HIS CAMPAIGN MANAGERS

(A photograph made in New York City during a conference with Mr. A. C. Joy)

one who has stood with the "irreconcilable" element in the Senate against the treaty and the League of Nations. He seems to have the support of a part at least of the elements now active on behalf of the Irish demands as against the British Government.

*Hoover and
the California
Contest*

The contest in California on the 4th of May promises to be the most interesting of this year's primary elections. The old conservative Republican elements have ceased to oppose Senator Johnson, and until quite recently it was expected that he would sweep the Republican primaries of his own State with little opposition. But during the months of March and April the Hoover movement began to take on a definite political form. In January it had been launched by the New York "World" as a Democratic movement, and it had even been supposed that Senator Phelan had secured the selection of San Francisco as the meeting place of the Democratic National Convention because of his personal friendship for Mr. Hoover and his willingness to have the former Food Controller placed at the head of the Democratic ticket. Mr. Hoover himself had intimated that he was waiting to see how the parties would line up on certain questions before committing himself as an adherent of the one or the other. Gradually, however, he was brought to the position of becoming a receptive Republican candidate, and of declaring that he would neither seek nor accept a Democratic nomination.

*Nature of the
Hoover
Support*

Mr. Hoover has the reputation of being a great organizer, and of doing nothing half-heartedly. It does not appear that he has at any time sought to project himself into politics, much less to strive for the Presidency. But he will not hamper the efforts of his friends. It is plainly true that—quite outside of regular political circles—there has been an extraordinary expression of sentiment to the effect that Mr. Hoover would make a good President, for the period upon which we are now entering. Most of the people who have committed themselves to this opinion admit that they know almost nothing about Mr. Hoover's personality, career, or opinions. But, nevertheless, they are good citizens, and they are entirely satisfied to take the chances and support Hoover as embodying the kind of efficiency, ability, and character that they desire to see in the White House. This

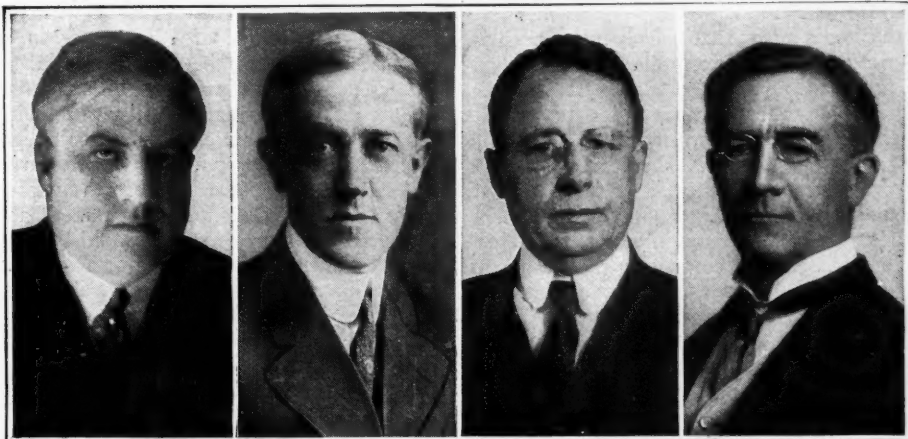
sentiment for Hoover is widespread, is reflected in the press, and is heard among leading citizens, and the women voters are to a great extent under its sway. If there should be a protracted deadlock in the Chicago Convention, the pressure of outside opinion might result in Hoover's nomination. After all is said and done, the Republican politicians want a winning ticket that will help to carry State and local elections; and the Hoover trade-mark has a popularity that it is not likely to lose in the near future.

*Hoover Has
a World
Outlook*

Some of the most influential newspapers in California have now committed themselves to Hoover, and it is said that a great many Democrats have been enrolling as Republicans in order to participate in the great fight of May 4 between Hoover and Johnson. Mr. Hoover's occupation as a mining engineer and director in British mining enterprises in Australia, China, and elsewhere has made London his place of business and principal residence during his working career. To be a successful man in London and the British Empire is no small achievement for a young American engineer. It will not of necessity diminish his pride in his own country and his loyalty as an American citizen, but it will naturally create in his mind a habit of thinking in international rather than in local terms. Mr. Hoover's brief but intensive experience as a public personage in the war period gave him an exceptional ac-



LOOKS LIKE A REAL JOUST IS COMING OFF
From the Sun (Baltimore, Md.)



Attorney-General Palmer Ambassador John W. Davis Governor Cox of Ohio Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska
FOUR DISTINGUISHED DEMOCRATS AVAILABLE FOR THE SAN FRANCISCO NOMINATION

quaintance with affairs and conditions in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as on both sides of the Channel and the North Sea.

*Contrasts
Between the
Two Men*

Senator Johnson does not believe in America's active participation in European and Asiatic affairs. His attitude is instinctive as well as deliberate. Mr. Hoover, on the other hand, instinctively but also deliberately holds that America must ratify the treaty and cooperate with Great Britain and France in helping to maintain present peace and to secure lasting adjustments. It is said that various elements in this country, including the pro-Irish and anti-British groups, are working against Hoover as an internationalist and in favor of Johnson as a nationalist. These opposite points of view are said to be crystallizing for the coming contest in California. If Hoover should carry the State, it would greatly enhance his prospects at Chicago. If Johnson should lose his own State, his chances at Chicago would have disappeared. If, on the other hand, he should carry his own State, his position would be just what it had been before. In short, Johnson has everything to lose and little to gain in California, while Hoover has much to gain and nothing to lose.

*Democratic
Availability*

The Democratic situation is not going to be clarified this year even to a moderate extent by the primary elections. Certain rival leaders will wage contests for control of delegations, as for example Senator Hitchcock and Mr. Bryan in Nebraska; but the success of one or the other of these two leaders in the primary

on April 20th will have no important bearing upon the choice of the San Francisco Convention that meets June 28. We are publishing in this number a sketch of Mr. McAdoo and an interview with him, particularly upon problems of taxation and finance. He is making no efforts as a candidate, although his name is perhaps first among the possibilities. The Attorney-General, Mr. Palmer, is capable and well-qualified; but his official activities, particularly those under the Lever Act, have aroused opposition on the part of labor leaders. Governor Cox of Ohio is a much-praised candidate. In the Cabinet there are several men recognized as eligible besides Mr. Palmer. Secretary Houston, for example, apart from mere considerations of politics, would measure up to all the requirements of the presidential office. Mr. Meredith, the new Secretary of Agriculture, would make an attractive and popular candidate, and the Democratic convention of his own State of Iowa has endorsed him. Many thoughtful Democrats have had their eye upon the Hon. John W. Davis, now Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, as the most promising of all the dark horses. There is not a man in public life at Washington, whether Republican or Democrat, who does not hold Mr. Davis in admiration.

*The Treaty
as an
Issue*

This is a year, however, when issues as well as candidates must be considered. A few weeks ago Republican victory was regarded as a foregone conclusion almost without regard to the candidate or the platform. But the defeat

cumbency of President Diaz, or else they are accompanied by civil war, as in the post-Diaz period and earlier. The Mexican constitution does not allow the reelection of a president, although this rule was set aside repeatedly in the case of President Diaz. The election of President Carranza's successor occurs on July 1. Carranza naturally had expected to dictate his own successor, and practically to elect him through control of political machinery and military power. But General Obregon for some time past has been journeying from State to State in Mexico as an opposition candidate, with great success. Early last month, railroad and mining strikes in the Northern State of Sonora led to interference by President Carranza that was regarded by the Governor of Sonora and the local authorities as infringing upon the rights of the State. The State legislature voted to make armed resistance to Carranza's attempt to send troops into Sonora.

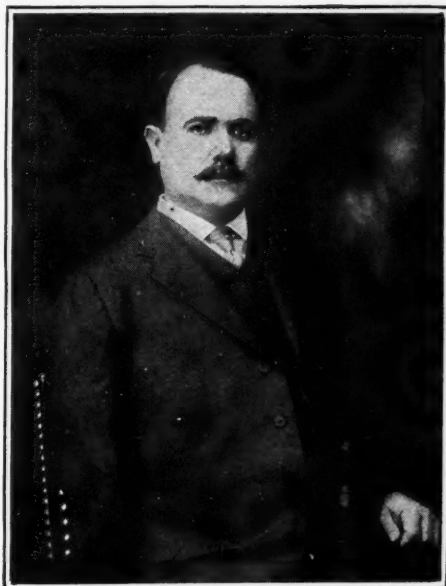
*Sonora
in
Revolt*

This occurred on April 10, and the State withdrew temporarily from the Republic of Mexico.

It was alleged that Carranza proposed to assume control of Sonora as part of a plot to hurt the candidacy of General Obregon, whose home is in that State. Meanwhile, General Obregon had been called by Carranza to the City of Mexico to appear in connection with the trial of a rebel leader accused of plotting against the Carranza Government and of favoring Obregon. It looked very much like a typical Mexican attempt to trap Obregon; but after a few days it was reported that he had eluded his enemies and escaped from the City of Mexico by automobile. This was not at once verified. Meanwhile, in the early clashes of State and Federal troops, on the boundaries between Sonora and the State of Sinaloa, and also further north between Sonora and Chihuahua, the secessionists apparently had the advantage. This does not mean an attempted break-up of Mexico, but only a powerful protest against Carranza and his methods.

*Morgenthau
as
Ambassador*

President Wilson several weeks ago named Mr. Henry Morgenthau as Ambassador to Mexico. Mr. Morgenthau's services as Ambassador to Turkey in a period of great difficulty have been widely recognized; and the story of his war-time experiences at Constantinople has



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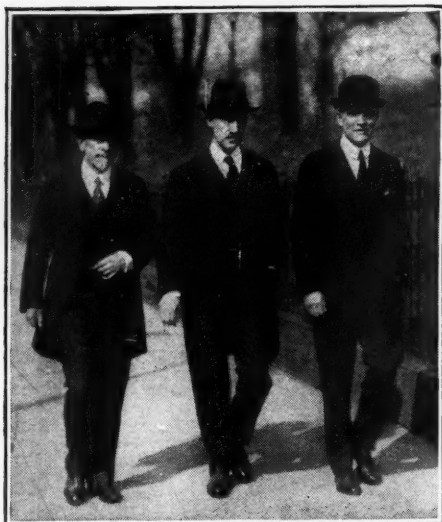
GENERAL ALVARO OBREGON

(Leading candidate for the presidency of Mexico and foremost leader of the northern state of Sonora, now in revolt)

been told by him in a volume that has vied in popularity with the best selling novels. Mr. Morgenthau's talents and training are of a kind that particularly well fit him to represent this country in Mexico. Nothing is so much needed south of the Rio Grande as an administration capable of meeting its obligations and of appreciating the friendship and good will of the people of the United States. In choosing to aid Germany, when almost the entire Western Hemisphere was supporting the United States and Canada in the European war, the Mexican Government was showing the worst possible judgment and was working against the true interests of the Mexican people. Sooner or later, Mexico will, we must hope, return to her former status of intimacy and quasi-alliance with the United States.

*In Central
and South
America*

There have been diverse disturbances in Central America in which our Government has been to some extent involved. In March, also, there was serious danger of a war between Peru and Bolivia over the old Tacna-Arica question. It was feared in Chile that the United States intended to intervene on the west coast of South America, but this of



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HENRY MORGENTHAU, NEW AMBASSADOR TO MEXICO
(With Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State, and
Frank L. Polk, under-secretary)

course was not true. The crisis seems to have been averted at the beginning of April, and our new Secretary of State, Mr. Colby, relieved the sensitiveness of Latin America by giving the most express assurances that this country had no thought of intervention or of exercising pressure of any kind. It was merely a matter of showing friendly interest with a view to persuading our neighbors to settle their differences without resorting to arms.

*Ireland an
Acute
Problem*

The British Government is never without problems of serious import to keep it busy, but the Irish question has overshadowed all the others in recent weeks. We have already referred to the new Home Rule Bill, which has been making its way through the House of Commons by great majorities and will doubtless be accepted without delay by the House of Lords. It is by no means certain, however, that the bill, when passed, can be put into effect. As our readers will remember, this measure creates a local parliament or legislature for the Protestant counties of the North of Ireland, with Belfast as the capital; and it creates a Dublin Parliament for the rest of the island. Arrangements are made for a large joint committee of the two parliaments to adjust certain matters affecting the island as a whole. The bill is elaborate, and it contemplates a future merging of the two legislatures on terms

especially favorable to the principle of home rule. The North of Ireland prefers the existing situation, which gives ample representation in the British Parliament at Westminster. The South and West of Ireland has now swung far away from ideas of home rule as supported by such leaders as Parnell and Redmond, and demands an independent Irish Republic. The Sinn Fein members of Parliament elected in December, 1918, as our readers will remember, refused to go to London and organized themselves into an Irish Parliament at Dublin with the Irish flag flying over the Dublin city hall. This assemblage, however, was broken up by the British authorities, and Ireland is now under strict military rule with ordinary civil liberties suspended. There has been a painful series of political crimes, with repression that only provokes further crimes of arson and murder.

*America
and
Ireland*

The situation is extremely puzzling and difficult, and it is not helped in any practical sense by attempts to inject it into American politics. The institutions of the United Kingdom rest upon a democratic basis. It is no more the desire of the British people to coerce the Irish than to coerce the Scotch, or the



THE KINDEST CUT OF ALL

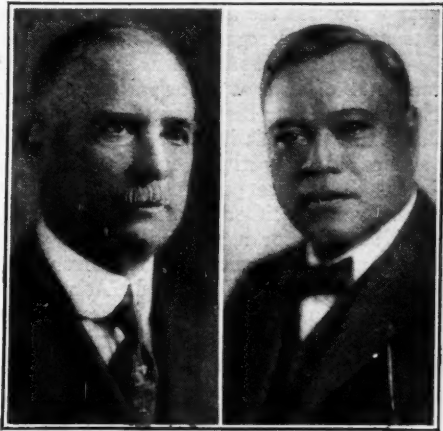
WELSH WIZARD: "I now proceed to cut this map into two parts and place them in the hat. After a suitable interval they will be found to have come together of their own accord (aside)—at least I hope so: I've never done this trick before."

From *Punch* (London)

Welsh. In proportion to their population, the people of Ireland have had larger governing authority than the people of England. By virtue of their working alliance with the Liberals in Parliament, the Irish members were for a good many years a part of the governing majority of the United Kingdom and the British Empire. The later phases of the Irish movement have not been well understood in the United States, and nothing of value is accomplished by American legislatures, or by the United States Senate, in assuming to take sides in so difficult a controversy lying wholly beyond the range of our official cognizance. We make ourselves merely ridiculous when we affect—with obvious shallowness and insincerity—to feel a keener and more sympathetic interest in the affairs of the people of Ireland than is felt by the intelligent men and women of England and Scotland, whose sense of justice and fair play is quite as well developed as our own. We have freedom of the press and of the platform, and it is quite as permissible for us to discuss the Irish question here as it is in Canada, in Australia, or in France. But it would be in extremely bad taste for the French Senate or Chamber of Deputies to take up the Irish question officially and to pass resolutions about it.

As to a
Philippine
Republic

An important delegation is coming from the government at Manila to urge at Washington the granting of complete and immediate independence to the Philippine Islands. At present, in the international sense, the Philippines are under the sovereignty of the United States as fully as Alaska, or Hawaii, or Porto Rico. We are not likely to read in the newspapers that the British Parliament or the French Chamber of Deputies has had a debate upon the status of the Philippines, and has declared in favor of their independence in a tone reflecting upon the justice of American policy. Several years ago a Democratic Congress definitely committed this country to the early independence of the Philippines. Mr. Roosevelt and other Republican leaders, who had been concerned with the development of our Philippine policies, thereupon decided that our own interests lay nearer home, and that it would not be desirable to hold the Philippines excepting as our presence there furnished protection and helped to maintain peace and stability in the Far East. The Filipino people have been apt learners and



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GOVERNOR MCCARTHY AND SENATOR WISE, OF HAWAII

(Hon. Charles J. McCarthy [left] is head of a delegation that has been visiting Washington to secure statehood for the islands. Senator John H. Wise of Hawaii [right] is Prime Minister and most influential political leader. The delegation has awakened much friendly interest among the members of Congress)

have made great progress under American auspices. Many of their best friends fear that the time is not yet ripe for them to make their way alone.

Status of the
Hawaiian
Islands

So far as we can judge, they do not really expect to attain all that they seem to ask. While talking for "independence," it is probable that they would really prefer something like a protectorate, or something analogous to a "mandate" under the League of Nations. It would be a misfortune for the Philippines if Uncle Sam did not retain a naval base and coaling facilities. The people of Hawaii, far from seeking to lessen the bonds between them and the United States, desire to give them greater strength and perpetuity by having their islands advanced from the status of a Territory to that of a full member of the Union—the Forty-ninth State. This question is one about which the country at large will require information, and it will be content to await the careful study that Congress will give before taking action.

American
and British
Navies

It has become a part of the defense policy of the United States to maintain a strong naval base in Hawaii, as also in the West Indies. The navy of the United States now far outranks any other except that of Great Britain. Until recently it was British policy to support

what was called the two navy program; that is to say, it was regarded as necessary that the Royal Navy should be as strong as the sum total of its two principal competitors. This idea has now been expressly abandoned. Our British friends have no desire to build warships in competition with the United States. They are perfectly aware that in this new era neither their navy nor ours could be used for aggression. With grave conditions of turmoil stretching from the River Rhine across Europe and Asia to the Pacific Ocean, it is at least a source of satisfaction to intelligent people living under the British and American flags that the great salt seas are to witness no further scenes of disturbance. The British and American navies will have to share the task of policing the oceans, and this will not mean discrimination against any other flags.

*Germany
and
France*

Mr. Simonds devotes his space in our present number to a frank discussion of the situation created by the disturbances of March and April in the German districts along the Rhine. Under pretext of suppressing revolt and maintaining Berlin's authority, the German Government sent unduly large bodies of troops into the Ruhr District, which includes the Krupp's city of Essen and other manufacturing towns. France declared this a serious breach of the treaty agreements, and on brief notice occupied the city of Frankfurt and other important places beyond the Rhine in a district that had been neutralized under the treaty. The British Government complained sharply that the separate action of France was contrary to the agreements of the Allies. Mr. Simonds sympathizes with the French position and indirectly, therefore, criticizes the British attitude and, not less, the American. The crisis was indeed a far more grave one than most Americans were aware. We cannot, however, permit ourselves to take a pessimistic view regarding the alliance between the French and the British. A meeting of the Supreme Council was about to be held at San Remo, attended by the Premiers and high officials of France, Great Britain and Italy; and there was some prospect that differences of attitude and policy would be much diminished. In due time the people of the United States will be prepared to stand with the people of France and of the other English-speaking countries, constituting a firm nucleus about which to organize the world for the maintenance of

peace, the protection of human rights, and the progress of civilization.

*Five
Years
After*

In the Allies' financing of the war, there is special interest in their first great borrowing from the American people—in the early autumn of 1915—the so-called "Anglo-French Loan," which becomes due and payable this year. This initial effort to obtain money in America to defray the huge expenses of the Allied military operations was successful in spite of the volume of borrowing, which at that time seemed enormous. Five hundred millions was the sum of the loan, floated at a figure slightly below par, on five-year notes bearing $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest. In the dark days of 1916 and 1917 these notes—the joint obligations of Great Britain and France, but without collateral security such as was found necessary in subsequent issues, sold on the markets well below 90. Only two or three months ago they were quoted on the New York Stock Exchange at prices yielding the investor about 14 per cent. for the eight or nine months they have still to run. During the war there were innumerable gloomy predictions that they would never be paid. Even within the last half-year, public opinion showed an expectation that some form of refunding would be the best that the issuing governments could do next October toward paying off this debt.

*Payment
Promised
in Full*

In fact, the approaching action of Great Britain and France in the matter of the payment of these notes had come to be looked on as the most important and decisive acid-test of the real financial conditions and prospects of the leaders of the Allies. Thus, when it was announced in March from the offices of J. P. Morgan & Company, who have been Great Britain's American banking agents throughout the war, that the notes would be paid on falling due next autumn, and when, soon after, very large imports of gold began from London, the matter was of great moment to the speculative and investment markets. The sending of this gold from England was a great surprise to most Americans, who had not appreciated that Great Britain was in a position to use such quantities of the precious metal for any purpose. Up to the middle of April, more than \$50,000,000 in gold had been shipped to New York, part of which was understood to be in preparation for the payment of these "Anglo-French" notes and

part probably for reshipment to South America to settle other war-time debts. England has also been collecting American "dollar" securities to sell on the markets here to aid further in payment of the half-billion dollars due American citizens next October.

*A New
Flare-Up In
Speculation*

These gold imports and the new confidence engendered by preparations for the payment of the "Anglo-French" loan completely reversed the downward movement in American security prices which had been in full swing. Throughout March and the first week in April there were startling recoveries in the prices of American industrial stocks. The increased speculation receives a further spectacular aid from the decision of the Supreme Court that dividends payable in stock were not subject to income taxes until the stock received as dividends should be sold. At the same time a remarkable movement in sterling exchange took place, the price of pounds as expressed in dollars moving up sixty or more points to a figure above \$4.06. The extreme low price of sterling exchange last winter had been \$3.18. The violence of this movement toward the normal in the comparison of pounds with dollars was directly based on the causes just noted; but another and more enduring reason for the rise in exchange was the continued increase in the exports from Great Britain to America, with current decreases in exports from America to England. For the eight months ending March 1, the total imports to the United States exceeded by \$140,000,000 those of the entire fiscal year ending June 30, 1919.

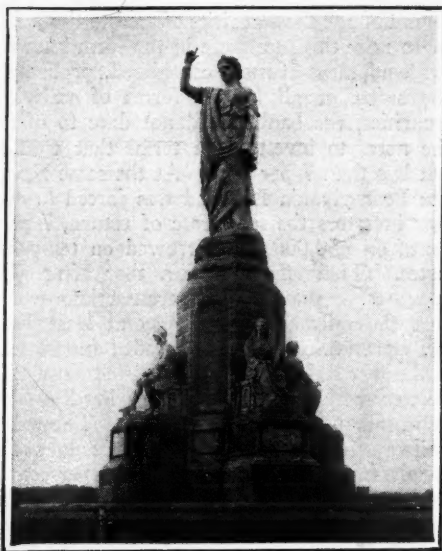
*The Railroads
Raising
Money*

Of all the distracting problems which must be solved by the management of the railroads before their return to the stockholders under the new conditions can be deemed a success, the biggest and most fundamental one is the securing of fresh capital to buy the cars, locomotives, and other equipment so desperately needed and to make extensions and improvements scarcely less necessary for economical operation and adequate service. The rebound in security prices and investment confidence noted in the preceding paragraphs quickly brought two of our greatest railways into the market for large sums of money; but the rates they have had to pay are significant and startling. The New York Central Railway needed \$30,000,000 to buy new

cars. Though the securities offered to the public to raise this sum were in the form known as "equipment trusts," considered, probably, the safest of all known forms of railway securities, the bankers did not dare to offer the notes to investors on terms that would net less than 7 per cent. At the same time, the Pennsylvania Railroad was forced to allow investors the same rate of return, 7 per cent., on \$50,000,000 borrowed on ten-year notes. These figures mean that after the expenses of the two loan transactions were met the railroads had to pay at least $7\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. annually for the needed funds. A little over a decade only has passed since the best securities of these roads, paying $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., were sold at a premium. The new railway legislation allows the roads as a whole rates which will return $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and possibly 6 per cent., on their property investment. How a corporation can borrow money at a cost of $7\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. for the purpose of carrying on a business in which there is a hope of a return of 6 per cent., but no certainty of it, is one of the many troubles of the men who are taking up with determination the task of making the railroads pay and give good service under the new and novel conditions.

*A Poor Start
for This
Year's Crops*

The final harvests of the year generally show figures strikingly different from those indicated by the Government report published on the 8th of April; it is too early to make up any figures that could be considered a fair estimate. Some strong indications, however, can be seen as to the winter wheat crop. This crop is one of the factors of most importance in the making or unmaking of a prosperous year. The wheat sown in the previous autumn is generally counted on to furnish more than two-thirds of the entire crop. The past winter has been distinctly unfavorable, and the report of the Department of Agriculture in April was a gloomy document in the item of winter wheat. The condition reported, 75.6 per cent. of normal, is the lowest at this time of the year, with one exception, in fifty years. Furthermore, the planted area, as estimated by the Government, was only 38,700,000 acres, as against 50,400,000 the year before. With the deficiency in rainfall in the Southwest and Kansas, helped by the ravages of the Hessian fly in the States east of the Missouri River, the excellent condition of the wheat crop on the Pacific Coast is not able to prevent an



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THE NATIONAL MONUMENT TO THE FOREFATHERS
AT PLYMOUTH, MASS.

(The statue of "Faith" is mounted on a granite base surrounded by four large buttresses on which are massive monolithic figures of "Morality," "Law," "Education," and "Freedom.")

estimated falling off from last year in the total crop of 303,000,000 bushels. A further loss of acreage seeded to winter wheat is looked for, of about 4,500,000 acres, leaving but little over 32,000,000 acres for harvest, whereas the average of the past five years has been 37,000,000 acres.

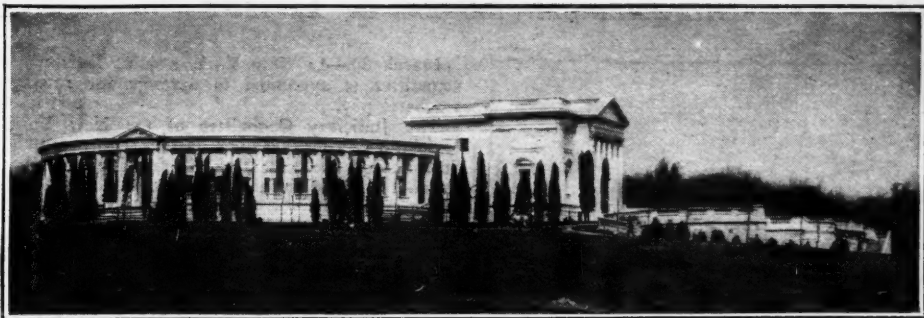
The Statistical
Position of
Wheat

The relative smallness of the acreage planted in wheat last autumn was due to a number of causes. There was no longer urgent governmental pressure on farmers to plant all they could for war reasons, and they were uncertain whether the prices would hold after the Government's guarantee is withdrawn this year. It is not difficult to sympathize with the average farmer's tendency to contract his acreage cropped. Even with the small crop of winter wheat forecast—484,000,000 bushels—there is, provided a fairly good spring wheat-crop can be harvested, no reason to look for any startling shortage so far as America is concerned. The statisticians assume a spring-wheat crop of 300,000,000 bushels, and adding in the carry-over from last summer of 150,000,000 bushels, figure on a total wheat supply of 930,000,000 bushels for 1920. Furthermore, the disbanded armies of Western Europe ought to raise this

year much more wheat than has been produced since the war began. France, Belgium, and Italy harvested, during the war, 260,000,000 bushels a year less than the normal, and, with Central Europe counted in, there must be, with the return to the farms of the millions of fighters, a very considerable increase in the European supply over the last five years.

Tercentenary
Celebrations

This year 1920 is associated in everyone's mind with the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, but the celebrations that have been planned on both sides of the Atlantic have a broader reference. They commemorate the beginnings of free institutions in America. In the cabin of the *Mayflower*, a few days before the landing of the Pilgrims, was signed the famous compact establishing civil and religious liberty, and more than a year before there had met in Virginia the first American legislative body. It is fitting that the tercentenary of two events so momentous to mankind, even though their dates did not precisely coincide, should be observed in the same series of celebrations. The whole English-speaking world has an interest in both these anniversaries. Even before the end of the World War steps had been taken in England to provide for the fitting observance of the Tercentenary. The origins of the Pilgrim movement will be celebrated at Scrooby, Boston, and Cambridge (Eng.) in May and June, while the Dutch committee, in association with British and American committees, has arranged for meetings at Amsterdam, Leyden, Delftshaven, and The Hague during July and August, to commemorate the sojourn of the Pilgrims in Holland and their departure. In August the British celebration will become general and a new *Mayflower* will sail from Southampton and Plymouth (Eng.), bearing a British and Dutch delegation to America. September will see a popular celebration at Provincetown, Mass., as the scene of the *Mayflower* compact. At Plymouth (Mass.) there will be elaborate pageants during the summer and in December the formal commemoration of the arrival of the Pilgrim Fathers. Coöperation of many American and British patriotic and religious organizations has been brought about through the efforts of the Sulgrave Institution, a society which takes its name from the manor home of George Washington's ancestors in England.



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THE ARLINGTON AMPHITHEATRE, BUILT ON AN EMINENCE OVERLOOKING THE POTOMAC RIVER NEAR WASHINGTON, NOW ALMOST FINISHED

(It cost nearly a million dollars to build and has been in construction for five years. This is a general view showing the entire structure. Of especial beauty are the approach, at the right, and the vast arena, at the left)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From March 15 to April 15, 1920)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

March 15.—In the Senate debate upon the peace treaty, the compromise reservation to Article X framed by Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) is adopted, 56 to 26.

March 16.—In the House, Mr. Smith (Rep., N. Y.) introduces a bill authorizing the War Finance Corporation to lend \$1,000,000,000 to Germany to reestablish trade relations.

March 17.—In the Senate, by vote of 25 to 39, the Lenroot foreign policy resolution, permitting freedom of action in future European disturbances, is defeated.

March 18.—The Senate adopts the reservation favoring self-determination for Ireland, introduced by Mr. Gerry (Dem., R. I.).

In the House, the Army Reorganization bill is passed, 246 to 92; it provides for 299,000 men and 17,800 officers.

March 19.—In the Senate, ratification of the Treaty of Versailles for the second time fails of the requisite two-thirds majority, the vote being 49 to 35.

March 20.—The Senate sends the rejected treaty back to the President.

March 22.—The Senate confirms the appointment of Bainbridge Colby as Secretary of State; Charles R. Crane is confirmed as Minister to China. . . . Mr. Owen (Dem., Okla.) introduces a constitutional amendment permitting a Senate majority to ratify the treaty.

March 23.—In the House, the \$425,000,000 naval appropriation bill is passed, providing \$104,000,000 for completing the 1916 construction program and authorizing an enlisted personnel of 125,000 sailors and 20,000 marines.

March 24.—The Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee recommends equipment by America of an Armenian army, the sending of marines and a warship to Batum, and steps leading to recognition of the new republic.

March 25.—The House adopts a resolution offered by Mr. Kahn (Rep., Cal.), asking the status of American troops on the Rhine.

March 26.—In the Senate, Mr. Borah (Rep., Idaho) introduces a bill to limit to \$10,000 in any one State the campaign expenditures of a candidate for the presidential nomination.

March 31.—In the House, a resolution declaring the state of war with Germany at an end is introduced by Mr. Porter (Rep., Penn.), chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

April 2.—In the House, the Ways and Means Committee votes 15 to 6 to report soldier bonus legislation, declaring against a bond issue for the necessary \$1,500,000,000 and favoring a tax on sales.

April 3.—The Senate passes a bill permitting control of discounts by the Federal Reserve Board through its twelve Reserve Banks.

April 5.—In the Senate, Mr. Wadsworth (Rep., N. Y.) calls up the Army Reorganization bill framed by the Military Affairs Committee.

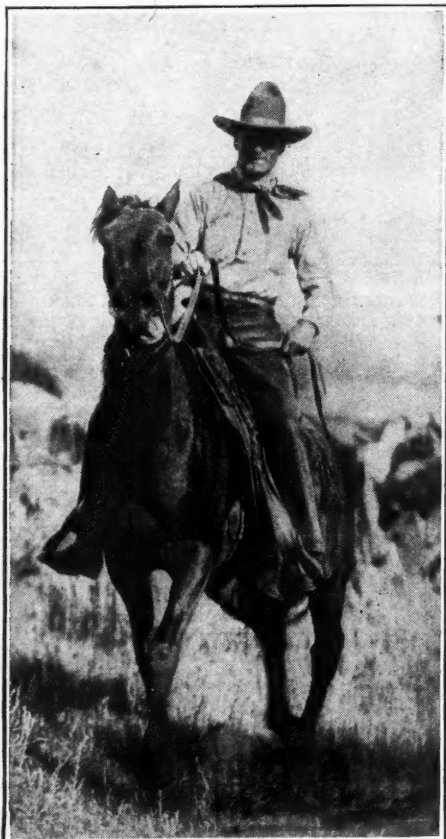
April 6.—The Senate Naval Committee approves a project for an extensive navy base at San Francisco.

April 9.—The House passes the peace resolution, 242 to 150, repealing all special war time legislation and declaring the war at an end.

In the Senate, an immediate investigation of the railroad strike is unanimously ordered. . . . The Committee on Privileges and Elections orders an investigation of the 1918 Newberry-Ford campaign in Michigan. . . . The voluntary military training plan of Mr. Frelinghuysen (Rep., N. J.) is substituted for the compulsory plan, 49 to 9.

April 12.—The Senate rejects educational and vocational training (37 to 9), but provides for voluntary universal training of youths from 18 to 21 instead of 18 to 28.

April 14.—The Senate Foreign Relations Committee reports on Russian propaganda in the United States.



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MR. MCADOO ENGAGED IN HIS FAVORITE RECREATION
ON THE CALIFORNIA PLAINS

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

March 20.—United States Senator Truman N. Newberry and sixteen co-defendants are found guilty on charges involving excessive use of campaign funds, and are sentenced to imprisonment.

The President's industrial Conference makes its report, favoring shop councils and arbitration boards.

March 22.—Washington becomes the thirty-fifth State to ratify the federal woman suffrage amendment.

The joint railroad wage board is completed under Chairman E. P. White; the Interstate Commerce Commission hears capital and labor on methods of valuing railroad properties.

March 23.—The primary elections in South Dakota result in a victory for General Wood, Republican, and James W. Gerard, Democrat.

President Wilson abolishes government price-fixing on coal.

Henry Morgenthau is nominated as American Ambassador to Mexico to succeed Henry P. Fletcher, resigned.

March 27.—Philippine Supreme Court Chief Justice Arellano resigns, effective April 1.

March 30.—In New York, a joint legislative committee is appointed to arrange for raising teachers' pay.

The Judiciary Committee of the New York legislature, after hearings lasting many weeks, recommends the unseating of the five Socialist members on the ground of adherence to a disloyal party.

Herbert Hoover declares his position on the treaty is midway between the President's and that of the "irreconcilables."

March 31.—The New York legislature passes eleven rent relief bills through both houses; they take effect April 1.

April 1.—Five Socialist Assemblymen are expelled from the New York legislature.

The lower house of the Delaware legislature rejects the proposed woman suffrage amendment, 23 to 9.

April 3.—Herbert Hoover says that he will accept only a Republican nomination for the presidency.

President Wilson sends to the Senate General Harbord's report on Armenia, which recommends expulsion of Turks from Europe.

April 6.—Kansas coal strike leaders refuse to obey summonses of the Industrial Relations Court.

Senator Hiram Johnson and Mr. Herbert Hoover, on Republican and Democratic tickets, respectively, win in the Michigan primaries, but lose in New York; in Michigan, Hoover polls 22,752 as a Democrat and runs fourth on the Republican slate, with 49,461 votes.

April 9.—Kansas coal strike leaders are jailed for failure to obey summonses as witnesses before the Industrial Relations Court.

April 10.—The Attorney General orders an investigation of the railroad strike.

Four Kansas leaders of railroad switchmen are arrested for violation of the Kansas Industrial law in tying up transportation.

April 13.—The Illinois Republican primary results in victory for Governor Lowden, with General Wood running first in Chicago and second in the State at large.

April 14.—President Wilson meets with his Cabinet for the first time since September 2.

Attorney General Palmer is reported as believing the railroad strikes to be a Communist move.

The New York Senate passes a bill permitting pasteurization and sale of milk by the City of New York.

April 15.—Federal agents arrest many leaders of the railroad strike in Chicago.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

March 16.—German Ministers and Under-Secretaries refuse to obey Dr. Wolfgang Kapp's orders, and troop payments are withheld; Berlin is tied up by a general strike, called in protest against the *coup d'état*.

The Prince of Wales leaves London for Australia.

March 17.—Dr. Wolfgang Kapp resigns with General von Luettwitz, and the revolutionary plot ends in failure; the general strike is suspended; Soviet agents are reported in some outlying districts.

March 19.—Armed workmen capture Essen, and other German cities report Spartacide uprisings with casualties.

The Mayor of Cork, Ireland, is killed by assassins.

British cabinet changes place Thomas J. McNamara as Minister of Labor, Sir Robert S. Horne as President of the Board of Trade, and Charles A. McCurdy as Minister of Food.

March 20.—President Ebert and his cabinet return to Berlin and proclaim martial law. The extreme Left demands that Gustav Noske, Dr. Heine, Chancellor Bauer, and Foreign Secretary Mueller resign.

March 23.—In Germany 50,000 "Reds" advance on Wesel after capturing Dorsten and Valsum, and heavy fighting is in progress; Thuringia is under Soviet control. . . . General von Luettwitz and Admiral von Trotha are arrested; Gustav Noske resigns from the cabinet.

The French army introduces compulsory sports, notably football.

Spanish railroads are tied up by a general strike; railroad regiments are called into service.

March 24.—Prince Feisal, King of Syria, warns the French to leave Syria by April 6, and the Arabs also order the British out of Palestine; Lloyd George declares that the Allies do not recognize the new King.

March 25.—Italian workmen and peasants strike in Naples and the provinces of Novra, Alexandria, Brexica, and Treviso, attempting to establish Soviets; troops restore order.

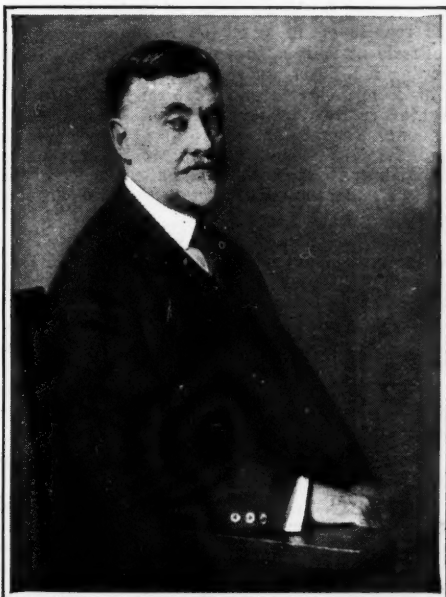
March 26.—The Prussian and the German federal cabinets resign after failure to reorganize.

The Welsh local option bill passes second reading in the British House of Commons.



HON. RICHARD CRANE, MINISTER TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA

(Young Mr. Crane has been for some months at his important post in Prague. In March his father, Charles R. Crane, was named by the President as Minister to China. It is rather an unusual situation when father and son occupy important diplomatic posts at the same time)



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HON. CHARLES R. CRANE, MINISTER TO CHINA

March 27.—Germany is found to have 12,000 field guns and 6,000 airplanes (the treaty permits her to have 204 guns and no planes). . . . Herman Müller heads a new cabinet as Premier and Foreign Minister, with 3 Socialists, 4 Democrats, and 3 Centrists.

Russian Bolsheviks capture Perekop and Novorossisk, last bases of General Denikin's Army.

The Naples general strike comes to an end.

March 28.—The French Chamber's debate on the foreign policy of Premier Millerand ends in a vote of confidence, 518 to 70.

March 29.—The Irish Home Rule bill is advanced to second reading, after spirited debate.

The French budget reported for 1920 amounts to fifty billion francs, nearly half of which is recoverable from Germany; the daily expenditure has risen from 41,000,000 francs in 1914 to 139,000,000 in 1919.

March 30.—Danish people in the streets of Copenhagen clamor for a republic; M. Liebe attempts to form a new cabinet after the resignation of Premier Zahle is demanded by King Christian.

The Irish bill is criticized by Mr. Asquith in debate as tending to partition Ireland under a costly, inexpedient, and undesirable dual parliament; he urges Irish unity as the aim of any legislation.

March 31.—After further debate by Premier Lloyd George and Sir Edward Carson, the Irish bill passes its second reading, 348 to 94.

April 1.—The Chief Secretary for Ireland, Ian McPherson, resigns; he is succeeded by Sir Hamar Greenwood.

Ruhr workmen accept the Bielefeld agreement of March 24, under which no military measures are to be taken by the Ebert government.

April 4.—Irish tax offices and records are burned at many places and wire communication is cut from Belfast; troops are concentrated as a precaution against an uprising on Easter Monday.

German Government troops, after fighting at Duisburg, clear the town of Reds.

France decides to occupy German cities as a guarantee of German troop withdrawal from the neutral zone, discounting reports of Red disorders there and fearing a Junker plot.

Danish Premier Liebe resigns; King Christian promises electoral reforms, and the general strike is called off.

Soviet Russia compels all workmen and employees to carry work books to show they are engaged in productive occupations.

Guatemala is reported in revolt against President Cabrera.

April 6.—General Wrangel succeeds General Denikin in command of anti-Soviet Russian troops; General Romanovsky, Denikin's chief of staff, is murdered.

Italian labor at Bologna orders a general strike after riots and bloodshed.

The Canadian Supreme Court abolishes the control of news-print paper as not a necessity of life.

April 7.—Turks destroy the American orphanage and the village of Harouniyi.

April 8.—The unauthorized Italian general strike started at Bologna is called off by the General Confederation of Labor.

The German Cabinet yields to demands for withdrawal of troops from the Ruhr Valley presented by Labor and Socialist parties, and coal mines resume work.

Mexican presidential politics develop alleged plots for revolutions, arrests, and a searching investigation by the War Department; General Obregon seems to be the target of Carranza activities.

April 10.—The Mexican State of Sonora, by vote in secret session of Congress, withdraws from the republic; General Obregon is held in detention at Mexico City.

The German Government notifies all States to cooperate in reducing the army to 200,000 men.

April 12.—Governor Adolfo de la Huerta of Sonora gives way to General P. Elias Calles, now dictator.

Guatemala City, under shell fire for four days, holds out in revolt against forces of President Cabrera.

April 13.—Irish prisoners, on hunger strike, get active support from Dublin's Mayor, and a general strike called by Irish Labor leaders ties up all Ireland in protest.

The Sultan's and the Nationalist's Sheik ul Islam make separate appeals for a holy war against the forces of each other.

April 14.—Sinn Fein prisoners, for ten days on hunger strike, are released by order of General Sir Nevil Macready, newly in command in Ireland.

Mexican Federal troops are defeated by Sonora rebels at El Fuerte.

Guatemalan rebels and federal forces declare an armistice after negotiations at the United States legation.

April 15.—In Dublin, the largest raid to date gathers in 100 prisoners; police officers are mysteriously murdered.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

March 16.—Allied forces occupy Constantinople without opposition.

In India, at Jamshedpur, British troops fire on a mob of strikers; 300,000 workers, in 86 strikes, have disturbed India recently.

March 18.—In Constantinople, the Allies imprison Essad Pasha, Nationalist leader, and Mohammed Pasha, former War Minister prior to 1914.

The United States requests Chile to prevent serious difficulties between Peru and Bolivia over Tacna-Arica. . . . Ambassador Robert Underwood Johnson leaves New York for Rome, to represent the United States in Italy.

March 19.—Polish troops in Volhynia capture the staff of the 2nd Brigade of the 60th Bolshevik Division.

March 21.—The Russian Bolshevik Foreign Minister notifies Finland that no further attacks will be made against that country.

March 22.—It is announced that German islands in the Pacific have been partitioned, those north of the equator to Japan, and those south thereof to Australia and New Zealand.

March 23.—Polish troops begin a spring offensive against Russian Bolsheviks in the Baltic region.

March 24.—Warsaw reports heavy fighting at many points in the 400 miles of Polish front, and the repulse of an attack on Rovno.

President Wilson, in a note to the Allies, urges putting the Turks out of Europe, giving northern Thrace to Bulgaria and Trebizond to Armenia; he favors Russian representation on any international commission controlling Constantinople and the Straits, and asks for an open door to Turkish trade and an explanation of economic clauses and concessions in the proposed Turkish treaty.

March 26.—Poland offers peace terms to Russia requiring restoration of the kingdom of 1772 and all art and other treasures, with indemnity for invasions since 1914.

March 28.—The Mexican embassy at Washington announces plans to pay foreign creditors and to establish a national bank.

March 29.—Ruhr workmen's delegates request Allied troop occupation to end disturbances between workmen and Ebert troops.

March 30.—Peru presents her apologies to Bolivia for the incidents at Lima and Mollendo.

March 31.—France refuses to consent to the German Government's request for permission to send Reichswehr troops into the Ruhr Valley, believing it unnecessary and in furtherance of a militarist plot.

April 1.—The Turkish Cabinet, headed by Salih Pasha, resigns after an Allied demand for



A SCENE NEAR THE FAMOUS BRANDENBURG GATE DURING THE GERMAN REVOLUTION

(Light artillery and machine guns were placed before the Brandenburg Gate, with counter-revolutionary troops in charge, after they had regained control of Berlin from the Kapp revolutionary forces)

official disavowal of nationalism; the Nationalist, Mustapha Kemal, occupies Ada-Babar.

April 5.—Japan agrees to enter an international consortium for financing China with a \$250,000,000 loan. . . . Japanese troops occupy Vladivostok to check the advance of Russian Social Revolutionaries.

April 6.—French troops occupy Darmstadt, Frankfort, Homburg, Hanau, and Dieburg, to protect articles 42 and 44 of the treaty; proclamations are issued by General Degoutte and workmen are disarmed.

April 7.—French troops at Frankfort fire on a mob incited by a German officer; quiet prevails.

Premier Millerand lays before the Allied Council the German note protesting against French occupation of the Rhine and pleads for support.

April 8.—Britain refuses to send troops with France into the Rhine zone, and other Allies, except Belgium, concur. . . . Germany appeals to the Supreme Council for arbitration of French occupation, but the appeal is rejected as not presented by a member nation.

Geneva reports an agreement by the Italo-Yugoslav Commission by which Italy acquires sovereignty over Fiume and holds Albazia; the Jugoslavs get Susak, the Canale della Fiumara, Porto Baross, Volosca, and Scutari.

April 9.—Germany warns France she will be held responsible for damage to persons and property arising from occupation of the neutral zone on the Rhine.

The northern Mexican State of Sonora seizes the Southern Pacific of Mexico Railroad, American-owned, to break a strike of employees.

The Salvador Congress proposes the exclusion of the United States from a proposed Latin-American arbitration court to take the place of the Pan-American Union, the Central American Court of Justice, and the International Bureau.

The Executive Council of the League of Nations meets at Paris.

April 10.—The British note on French occupa-

tion of the Rhine zone, pleading for unity among the Allies, is dispatched to Paris.

April 11.—America demands an apology and indemnity from Germany for killing Paul De Mott, of Paterson, N. J., a newspaper man, accused of participation in the Ruhr revolt, shot while escaping from a German prison.

April 12.—United States Marines land at Guatemala City to protect the legation during a revolt against President Cabrera.

April 13.—Polish troops defeat Bolsheviks at Podolia.

April 14.—The Prince of Wales enjoys surf riding at Waikiki Beach, Hawaii.

April 15.—Armenians at Hadjin, after four weeks' siege, still hold out; a messenger succeeds in getting through with an appeal for aid from the French forces.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

March 20.—The superdreadnought *Maryland* is launched at Norfolk, Va.

March 24.—Income and excess profits tax payments for the first quarter instalment amount to \$908,829,172.

March 26.—American Samoa shows an increased population of 13.9 per cent, there being 8,196 inhabitants.

The executive secretary of the Communistic Party in New York is convicted of criminal anarchy.

March 28.—Catholics in the United States and possessions are reported as numbering 27,650,204, an increase of 186,229 in a year.

Tornadoes wreck many buildings and cause over a hundred deaths in Georgia, Alabama, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio.

March 30.—Grover C. Bergdoll, millionaire draft dodger, of Philadelphia, starts a five-year term as an army prisoner under conviction of desertion.

Supreme Court prohibition arguments are completed in the last of seven separate test cases.

March 31.—The Stock Exchange forbids trading in a cornered motor stock in order to protect the "shorts."

Bituminous coal operators and miners sign a two-year agreement on the basis of the Coal Commission's award.

Four men are indicted at Washington for revealing in advance the United States Supreme Court decision in the Southern Pacific case.

Railway executives refuse to decide the question of a billion-dollar wage raise, preferring that the public have a voice through the Railway Labor Board, not yet appointed.

April 5.—Chicago railroad yards are tied up by a strike; railways declare embargoes on through freight.

April 6.—Irish women sympathizers are arrested at Washington, D. C., for picketing the British Embassy.

April 7.—The Chicago railroad yardmen's strike, unauthorized by union leaders, throws 50,000 men out of work, brings out 10,000 railroad men, and ties up twenty-five roads.

New York tenants win one year leases and rent reductions in municipal courts under the new rent profiteering laws.

April 8.—The railroad switchmen's strike spreads throughout the country.

Police Inspector Dominick Henry of New York is indicted for neglect of duty, important changes are made in the administration of the Police Department, and some detectives are indicted for perjury.

April 10.—Arthur Twining Hadley resigns as president of Yale University after twenty years of service.

The population of Minneapolis, announced as 380,498, shows a gain of 26.2 per cent. since 1910.

April 12.—The New York Methodist Episcopal Conference lifts its ban on dancing, card-playing, and theater-going.

April 13.—Volunteer citizens in the New York commuting zone run "indignation specials" to keep up transportation service.

Dr. James Rowland Angell is elected president of the Carnegie Corporation.

April 15.—Elevator operators in New York skyscrapers strike for higher wages; teamsters strike and win wage increases.

The "outlaw" strike of railway workers virtually comes to an end in the New York district, the men failing to win definite assurances.

OBITUARY

March 16.—Kenneth A. J. Mackenzie, a distinguished surgeon, of Portland, Ore., 60. . . . Gen. Stephen M. Weld, Wareham, Mass., G. A. R., financier, 78. . . . Eduard Bonzogni, of Milan, famous Italian music publisher.

March 17.—William Henry Lippincott, noted American painter, 71. . . . Arthur Henry Bullen, British scholar, 63.

March 18.—Col. George W. Carter, of Ripon, Wis., veteran of the Civil War, 81.

March 19.—Rev. Walton W. Battershall, Protestant Episcopal archdeacon of Albany (N. Y.),

80. . . . Edward Roullier, artist, 62. . . . Moriz Benedikt, of Vienna, a noted journalist, 72.

March 20.—William Loring Andrews, author and bibliophile, 82.

March 22.—Brig.-Gen. Charles Bird, U. S. A., retired, 81.

March 24.—William J. Browning, Representative in Congress from Camden, N. J., 70. . . . Mrs. Humphry Ward, famous English novelist, 69 (see page 543). . . . Frederick Herreshoff, amateur golfer, 31. . . . Dean H. Martyn Hart, rector of St. John's Cathedral, Denver, 82. . . . Caleb Thomas Winchester, professor of English Literature at Wesleyan University, 73.

March 26.—William T. Smedley, artist, 62. . . . Julius Hauser, ex-Treasurer of New York, 66.

March 27.—Clinton Ross, author, 57. . . . Ivan Knudsen, Swedish engineer. . . . Samuel Colman, landscape painter and member of the National Academy, 88.

March 28.—Rev. Dr. Francis N. Peloubet, of Auburndale, Mass., author of widely used famous Sunday School lessons, 89. . . . Elmer Apperson, a pioneer automobile manufacturer, 58.

March 31.—Edwin Warfield, ex-Governor of Maryland, 72. . . . Alexander McKinny, former Collector of Internal Revenue, 61.

April 1.—Dr. William Martin, U. S. N., retired, yellow fever expert, 71. . . . Rev. George J. Krim, S. J., educator, 50.

April 2.—Eugene Delano, New York banker, 76. . . . Rev. Donald MacDougal, founder of the *Caledonian Magazine*, 65.

April 3.—Homer N. Bartlett, composer, 75.

April 4.—Jacob Reese Reese, merchant, 89. . . . Patrick D. Tyrrell, bodyguard of President Lincoln, 99.

April 6.—Laurent Honoré Marqueste, French sculptor, 72.

April 7.—Edward Harold Mott, humorist, 75. . . . Brig.-Gen. Jonathan P. Cilley, of Rockland, Me., G. A. R., 85.

April 8.—John Alfred Brashear, scientist, 80 (see page 501). . . . Col. John Nelson Partridge, of New York, 82.

April 9.—Charles Towlinson Griffes, composer, 36. . . . Mrs. Marie E. Richards, Gettysburg, Pa., pioneer woman lawyer. . . . John W. Crockett, ex-Treasurer of Arkansas, 60.

April 10.—Robert Treat Spice, educator, of Bloomfield, N. J., 73. . . . Judge Richard S. Tuthill, of Chicago, pioneer advocate of juvenile courts, 78.

April 11.—Ferdinand Roybet, French artist, 80.

April 12.—Capt. Charles H. Freeman, G. A. R., of Corning, N. Y. . . . Louisa Dowager Viscountess Wolsley, English agriculturist and author, 72. . . . Most Rev. John Baptist Crozier, Primate of all Ireland, 67.

April 14.—Roger C. Sullivan, the Chicago Democratic political leader, 59.

April 15.—Theodore N. Vail, a pioneer in telegraph and telephone industries and originator of railway mail, 75 (see frontispiece).

TOPICS OF THE HOUR IN CARTOONS



MR. MCADOO, MYSTERY OF THE WAITING-ROOM
From the *Tribune* (New York)



THE DEMOCRATIC DONKEY HELD AT THE POST
From the *Star* (St. Louis, Mo.)

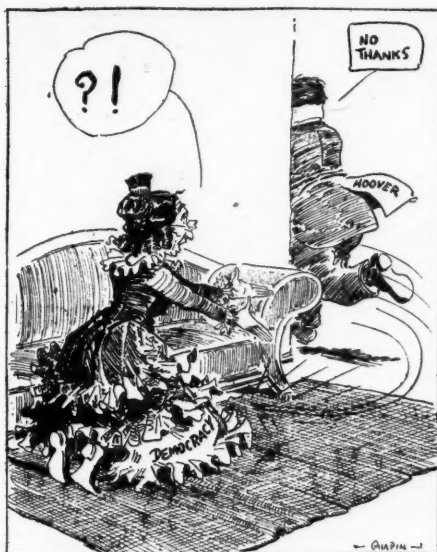


A NEW "ARTICLE X" ENGAGES THE UNDIVIDED ATTENTION OF WASHINGTON
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

[Besides the Presidential affair, the seat of every Representative and of one-third the membership of the Senate will be filled in November]



DIVING IN
From the *Spokesman Review* (Spokane, Wash.)



A LEAP YEAR PROPOSAL THAT FAILED
From the *Star* (St. Louis, Mo.)



AN UNWELCOME PASSENGER
From the *Star* (St. Louis, Mo.)



UNANIMOUS FOR HOOVER
From the *World* (New York)



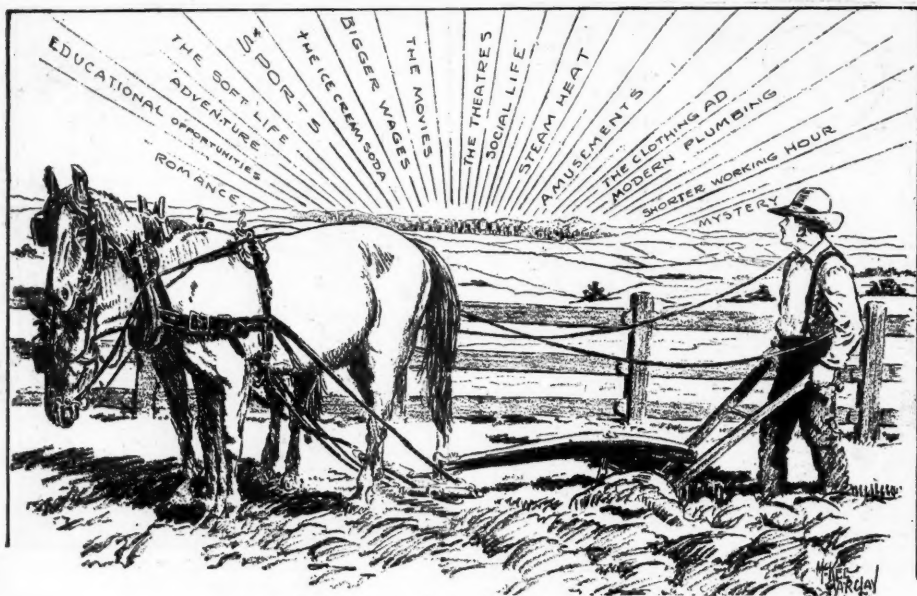
THE REPUBLICAN ELEPHANT: "OH, HERBERT!!"
HOOVER: "BUT WITH RESERVATIONS, MY DEAR!!"
From the *Citizen* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



THE PEACE TREATY BABES IN THE WOODS
From the *Journal* (Sioux City, Iowa)
May—3



EMBARRASSING
From the *News* (Chicago, Ill.)

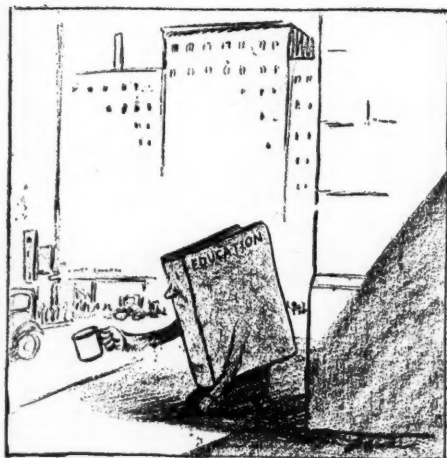


DAY DREAMS—From the Sun (Baltimore, Md.)

In more than one section there has been noted a movement of farm workers to the cities, where larger wages, with shorter hours, may be had. Needless to say, a large part of what the farm laborer dreams will be his portion as a town-dweller can never be realized. It is not strange, though, that even the school-teacher thinks longingly of the factory at times.



IS SHE GOING TO JOIN THE HIRED MAN?
From the Daily Drovers Journal (Chicago)



IN THE RICHEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD
From the Post-Dispatch (St. Louis, Mo.)



COME ON, SONNIE, THAT'S ONLY YER TEACHER!
From the Plain Dealer (Cleveland, Ohio)



WHY BREAK THE SAFE WHEN YOU KNOW THE COMBINATION?
From the American (Baltimore, Md.)



BUSINESS AS USUAL
From the News (Chicago, Ill.)



THE FALSE DAWN
From the World (New York)



HOW THE STRIKE HITS THE FARMER; OR THE WAY
LABOR-FARMER COALITION WORKS
From the Daily Drivers' Journal (Chicago, Ill.)



THE CALL!
From the Evening World (New York) ©



WHY THE COST OF LIVING STAYS UP
From the Times (Los Angeles, Cal.)



GREAT SCOTT!! AM I BREAKING
OUT WITH CAPITAL-ITIS?
From the Spokesman Review (Spokane, Wash.)



SWEDEN AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS
 JOHN BULL (to Mrs. Sweden): "Put your neck in this and I'll lift you up!"
 From *Naggen* (Stockholm, Sweden)



IN THE GIANTS' DEN
 Norway joins the League of Nations
 From *Karikaturen* (Christiania, Norway)

On this page cartoonists of three neutral European countries give expression to views regarding the League of Nations.



THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AS THE PENDULUM OF THE CLOCK OF THE FUTURE
 UNCLE SAM: "Don't mess with the pendulum, or you may break the clock."
 From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich, Switzerland)



"HANDCUFFED"
 By Bairnsfather in the *Bystander* (London)



WHOSE TURN NEXT?—From *Harvey's Weekly* (New York)

The German cartoon reproduced below draws attention to the fact that Lloyd George, alone, of the "Big Four" who framed the peace treaty, remains on a pedestal. Orlando and Clemenceau have passed from their premierships, while President

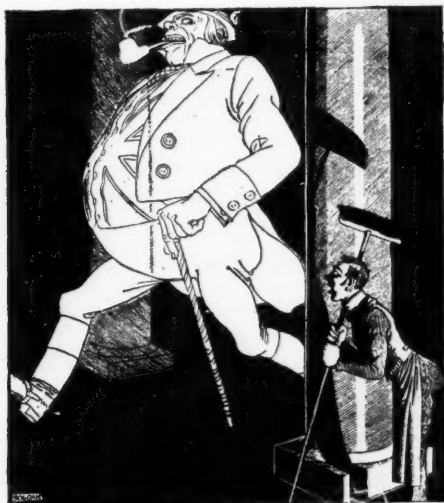
Wilson has in effect been repudiated by the Senate. The Polish cartoon depicts a pessimistic feeling among Poles when German authority was withdrawn from the port of Danzig, under peace treaty provisions, and government by commission substituted.



FALLEN IDOLS OF VERSAILLES

"O wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursels as ithers see us."
—Burns

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)



"POLISH" DANZIG

PORTER: "What a giant!"

ENGLAND: "Lord of Albion, come to take part in the council with Poles and Germans for the government of Danzig."

PORTER: "But you won't be able to sit in a chair."

ENGLAND: "Not in one chair—I shall sit in all three!"

From *Mucha* (Warsaw, Poland)

MR. McADOO—ON SOME VITAL PROBLEMS

An Interview with the ex-secretary of the Treasury in Which He Discusses Financial Questions

BY HENRY WYSHAM LANIER

"There is nothing in the world which gives me as much satisfaction as to grapple with a thing that people say is impossible, and put it over."—WILLIAM G. McADOO.

AS Secretary of the Treasury and Director-General of Railroads, William G. McAdoo had a unique experience in handling some of the tremendous new problems the War has thrust upon us. He has definite convictions on many of the most vital matters now awaiting decision—though it must be stated most emphatically that this does not pretend to be a complete and reasoned study of the complex financial questions involved. In fact the suggestions presented are predicated upon the consummation by the United States of a sane working arrangement with the rest of the world which will release the general energies for beneficial productivity, which will reduce the vast waste of armaments. Obviously if this country should by playing a lone hand be forced to pour out increasingly hundreds of millions a year for military and naval protection—reduction of taxes is an idle dream.

Assuming peace and some such international coöperation, the ex-Secretary says that:

We can wisely reduce taxes somewhat for the next two years.

We can and should correct existing inequalities in taxation.

We should modify the excess-profits tax.

We can save money at Washington—if we put the right man there with a Congress that will work with him.

We can properly ease up on Europe and ourselves by funding the interest on our foreign loans.

Mr. McAdoo is a striking personality. Tall and wiry (he carries no "excess baggage," being an inch over six feet with a weight of 160 pounds), his rather deep-set

blue eyes look at you with a level steadiness that has in it a suggestion of the old Georgia Indian-fighter who was his great-grandfather. He shows constantly a mind intensely alive, to which a difficulty is a welcome challenge.

Yet this aggressive mental energy operates amid a kind of balanced ease which we associate with the Southern temperament. He has that polite personal interest toward the person he happens to be talking to which few men can preserve unless their time has a minimum of urgent calls upon it. His face frequently breaks into deeply-lined smiles, as he makes a point of forceful, homely humor—in the same kind of sane, fun-loving perspective that characterized Abraham Lincoln. I do not mean that Mr. McAdoo is a Lincoln: I do mean that his point of view exhibits markedly that refreshing "horse sense," with the consequent quick perception of humorous incongruity of which Lincoln was the illuminated example, and which we like to think of as typically American.

He rarely seems hurried; never nervous, though it would be hard to find a man of more alert nerves. I watched him sitting in his law office on the fourteenth floor of a downtown New York building, where between the city cañon walls one glimpses the busy windswept harbor—listening patiently to an interminable talker over the telephone, while visitors waited beside his desk and in the outer room, secretaries and partners opened doors seeking needed consultations, important letters and papers were piled in front of him (and incidentally he was hourly awaiting the announcement of a new daughter); and his voice did not sharpen or grow tense in the least, nor did his courteous attention to the interrupter become frayed. His only external expression was a smiling aside remark that apparently "this fellow never would stop talking." When at last he

could get free, he quietly resumed his discussion of large questions.

A small matter. But anyone who had seen a successful New York lawyer and man of affairs under such pressure was forced to recognize a quite remarkable power of controlled application; of unusual activity unusually well in hand; of notable capacity that always seemed to have a reserve ensuring calm and stability.

This particular quality seemed to add largely to the interest which the ex-Secretary's record gives to his ideas on some crucial matters now confronting the country.

For one large fact must by this time have impressed its reality and significance upon every thoughtful man: America is no more through with the War than is a man through with a capital operation when he has been sewed up—even left the hospital and paid his surgeon's bill.

Hardly a day passes without some insistent reminder that we face the necessity of profound readjustments in finance, in business, in industrial, political, and social life, in every nerve and muscle fibre of the body politic.

No true American doubts for an instant that we shall make these readjustments, that we shall remove all obstructions to the free and healthful circulation of the nation's vital energy; yet obviously it is a time when there is peculiar need for the best thought of any man who has proved his adequacy amid these new and complex problems. The merest glance at what was accomplished here during the War, and the men who directed this prodigious effort, would surely pick out William G. McAdoo as a person well worth listening to. He is, of course, one of the men most frequently mentioned as a possible Democratic choice this year. He has announced that no campaign is being made for him, no money being spent in his behalf. That he feels a sense of power to handle large national affairs which could make him welcome a nomination is, I suppose, self-evident. The wonder would be if it were otherwise.

Just imagine yourself Secretary of the United States Treasury during that momentous period from 1913 to 1919. Recall the imminence of financial panic that summer of 1913, and again on that fateful August day the next year. Visualize that first conference with the representatives of our new allies in April, 1917—when it presently became evident the money situation was so bad

that these gentlemen had to be urged to lay all the facts on the table, and America must speedily advance thousands of millions in addition to her own outlay. Consider that our Treasury actually had to provide in these three years over *forty-three billion dollars*, more than the total expenditures for all the preceding 127 years of our national existence.

Doubtless you would feel that the bald fact of having successfully handled such an emergency spoke for itself.

Well, Mr. McAdoo met his responsibility more than half way. He went over the heads of the financial experts to the American people. Being assured by them that it was impossible to sell more than \$500,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000 of bonds, and these only through the established banking channels, he conceived, organized, and conducted the Liberty Loan campaigns, in the first four of which an army of two million volunteers sold 18 billions of bonds to 50 million individual subscribers (the fourth loan by itself had 21 million). He himself made speeches in nearly every city in the United States. It was an unparalleled achievement—and there is no question as to who furnished the idea and the impetus. We all remember, too, what a vast influence these campaigns had in arousing and unifying the nation to put forth its uttermost strength.

As Director-General of Railroads

There was a full-sized man's job here. But presently, in the very height of the war effort, the Government was forced to take over the railroads. Mr. McAdoo suddenly had added to his load the task of directing two million men and 250,000 miles of roads, on which depended the whole effectiveness of our contribution of food, men, and munitions. The separate transportation systems had broken down under the strain; equipment was short; the workers were threateningly dissatisfied; for good measure, a succession of crippling blizzards came along at that precise time. And the Prime Ministers of France, Great Britain, and Italy were sending word that we were nearly a million tons behind our food promises for December and January, that rations in the Italian army had been reduced twice, in the French army once; in short that the war was lost, and starvation confronted millions of civilians, unless the American railroads could do more than what had proved impossible.

They did it—partly by violating a basic

law of ordinary railroad management: rushing trains of *empty* cars from the East to the West and rushing them back across the continent loaded with the necessary food supplies. The public never guessed that, with the exception of fuel and paper, the entire commerce was held up for more than two weeks so that food could have the right of way.

Practically all the criticisms of the railroads during the war have been on the false idea that they were, or could be, then run for profit or public convenience. They were run to win the war: and the more one studies the inside history, the more justified becomes Director-General McAdoo's vigorous claim that the two hundred million dollars spent on railroad operation for the year 1918 "produced greater results than any like amount of money expended by the Government throughout the entire period of the War."

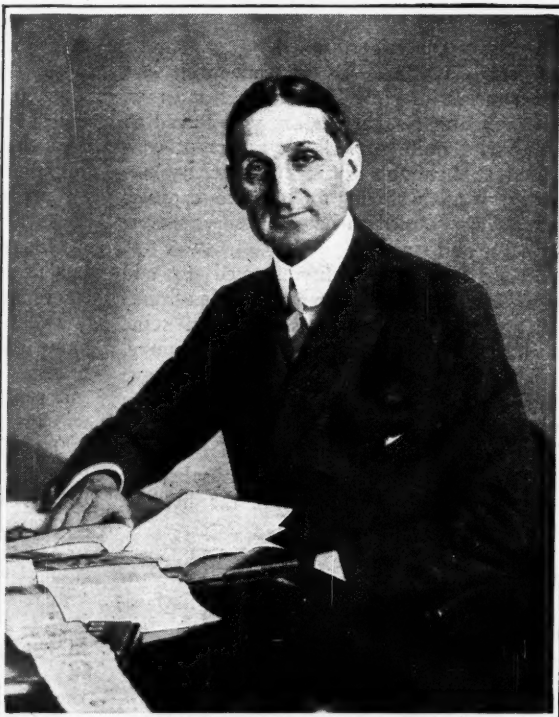
Here again was a task seemingly large enough to absorb all of a man's energies. However, in addition to being Secretary of the Treasury, and Director-General of Railroads, McAdoo organized the Federal Reserve Banking System and was Chairman of the Board; initiated the Farm Loan system and the War Finance Corporation, the War Risk Insurance Bureau and the Pan-American Financial Conference; was chief of the National Health Service, in charge of the Bureau of Printing and Engraving, of the regulation of National Banks, Collection of Customs, Internal Revenue, and carried a host of minor related responsibilities.

It really seems almost incredible that any one man could be physically equal to the labor involved in such a list at such a time.

To begin with, McAdoo displayed exceptional skill in judging men and in building his organizations.

"I had," he declares, "the finest set of capable and live lieutenants and subordinates that any man could want in public life."

Then, he concentrated his entire powers on his work. As he himself puts it, it meant "pursuing a life of real self-abnegation in the highest sense. You must deny yourself all social pleasures and opportunity for



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FORMER SECRETARY WILLIAM G. McADOO

diversion, even the opportunity for exercise; and not only on week-days, but every day."

His personal schedule was simple enough:

"After the railroads were turned over to me, I separated the two jobs completely. The office of the Secretary was, of course, in the Treasury Building. That of the Director-General of Railroads was in the Interstate Commerce Building. In the former I was Secretary of the Treasury alone. I spent the morning there, the afternoons at the Railroad Office, and never allowed the business of one to conflict with the other. So my mind was involved always with the particular problems of the work I was doing.

"Usually I got home about eight p. m., sometimes seven, had dinner as quietly as possible, and then always worked till twelve o'clock. Two large parcels, one from the Treasury, the other from the railroads, invariably followed me to the house, each containing important matters to be passed upon.

"These were put in memorandum form and accompanied by the supporting documents, so that if I was not convinced I could go back to the sources. Hundreds of de-

cisions were made on these memoranda with a simple O. K. or 'approved' or 'disapproved.' In other matters, where memorandum and documents did not satisfy me, they were marked 'for discussion' and gone through at the office next day, when decision was made if possible.

"Though working till midnight, I stayed in bed eight hours out of the twenty-four, whether I could sleep or not. I took that much rest in bed, even though I worked part of it—for there were always paper, pad, pencil and watch beside me, and often I'd get through a lot in this way."

He never took a vacation, not even a Sunday off. When it was necessary to be away from Washington, work went along so that everything was kept going just as if he were at his office. On inspection trips over the railroads, an office car contained secretaries and stenographers who were kept busy. The Liberty Loan tours were harder than the regular routine.

Admiral Gleason, his health director, gave him up, declaring he was the only man he knew who had consistently broken all the laws of health for six years and still lived to tell the tale. It should be noted, however, that Mr. McAdoo lived with great regularity, ate moderately, never had the habit of any sort of stimulants, and had the rare quality of being able to ponder a problem in absorbed intensity, night and day, without ever "worrying" about it.

And finally, though declaring that "one gets trained down to these things," he admits that toward the end of the term he could discern a lack of freshness in his mental attack—though this speedily returned when he got at his favorite diversion of riding a cow pony out in the Western mountains.

On the face of such a performance (following the ten years when against every obstacle he put through the Hudson Tunnels and Terminal Buildings), there would be a natural temptation to build up a picture of a superman. Nothing could be further from the truth. The thing that first strikes you about the man is his human quality: he always sees the human factor in any question, however large. I have no doubt he makes plenty of mistakes—and retrieves them, before it's too late, by his shrewd common sense, amazing energy, and real pleasure in tackling a "tough proposition."

These natural qualities, by the way, had good training in his boyhood. Brought up in the war-devastated region of Middle

Georgia (1863-1877), he knew that real poverty where every member of the family has to contribute his or her utmost just to keep things going. Anything from dish washing to farm chores fell to the youngster's lot.

Views on Public Finance

If all this seems somewhat remote from questions of technical finance, it may be remarked that the correct solution of most of our problems can come only from a view which includes both specialized knowledge and experience, and the human factors which are always present, often as they are ignored.

We got to discussing the subject which is in the minds of most substantial Americans at present—taxes and Government expenses.

Mr. McAdoo is convinced that it would be for the country's good to make a substantial reduction in the annual tax burden.

Of course, we've had our war and it must be paid for. On June 30, 1916, our national debt was under one billion. The highest point it had ever reached was in 1866 when the interest-bearing obligations reached \$2,332,331,208. On the 30th of last June it stood at nearly twenty-five and a half billions—and still going up. That means a larger annual payment for interest alone than all our Government expenses used to amount to.

Obviously there are three important questions involved in reducing taxes:

(1) What percentage of the war cost shall we pass on to future generations?

(2) What existing Government outlays can we properly cut off?

(3) Can we avoid huge military costs through general reduction of armaments?

There is no scientific rule by which these can be settled. It is a question of policy, of judgment as to what we can afford, of whether a given percentage paid now will check the forward movement of industry—which is the most important material consideration both for us and for those who come after.

McAdoo believes we could pass on somewhat more than has been funded, and suggests saving, say, \$1,500,000,000 in taxes for the next two years by issuing bonds. From his experience he is confident that these could be sold; and there would be just so much easing up on industry during this critical period of readjustment; and the less taxes industry must bear, the lower will be the cost of the product to the consumer. The establishment of a sinking fund to retire

the debt could be deferred for two years.

Further, he feels there might well be revision of the present distribution of taxation. Favoring heavy taxation on wealth, but not beyond the point where this is "hurtful to enterprise," he declares the man "with a moderate income is being taxed too high." Even the incomes from \$50,000 down are still paying a higher percentage, relatively speaking, than those which run into yearly millions. And while the true line is hard to draw, he feels that common sense, courage and a sense of justice can make definite improvements here.

With the best of management, "the people on whom income taxes fall have got to bear a large amount of taxation from now on. Straight income taxes are about the only form that cannot be passed on to the consumer."

He has also rather precise ideas about the much-discussed excess profits tax:

"Of course, the object of taxation is too big and vital to admit of more than superficial observations within the limits of a short interview. I cannot discuss it, therefore, satisfactorily here, but I may say that I think the graded excess profits taxes are bad, whereas a flat or fixed one seems to me wise.

"We have a 20 per cent. tax up to a certain amount and a 40 per cent. tax above a certain amount. Take any manufacturer: he is trying to get enough profit to produce a fixed return on his investment. Suppose he says: 'I ought to make enough to cover all the risks of the business, depreciation, etc., and net 25 per cent.' When he goes to fix his prices, not knowing the volume of business he will do, he can't be certain whether he is going to come within the 20 per cent. or 40 per cent. tax class at the end of the year. So he naturally takes the 40 per cent. figure to be safe, and that goes into the price the consumer has to pay. Whereas, with a flat tax—20 per cent., 30 per cent., or whatever it may be—he knows that is a definite factor and at least does not add an unreal charge to the public.

"I do not think well of a general sales tax; it is a consumption tax. A consumption tax hits the man with a large family very much harder than the man with a small family, and it is generally the poor who have the largest families. There are some consumption taxes we can afford to pay—on luxuries, for instance.

"Nor do I think it is feasible to concentrate entirely on income taxes. The welfare

of all the people of the country must be considered, and you reach the point in taxing a man's earnings where you destroy initiative and constructive enterprise. For instance, if you were considering new undertakings which would increase your earnings, and the income tax on the increased return would be 70 per cent., you would say, 'I'll stop where I am, because the 30 per cent. left to me does not justify the risk and effort. You would not engage in anything new.' That is occurring to some extent now, and in time its effects will be increasingly felt."

Any easing of the present burden must, Mr. McAdoo agrees, be accompanied by a rigid check on waste in public spending.

"If by passing more of our debt along, we are going to encourage extravagance in the State, municipal, and federal governments, we had better not do it. Extravagance has got to be stopped. This is more essential now than ever before. It is necessary to practice rigid economy, but we must not cut down on essential things like education, public-health service, and government agencies which deal with the human side of our problems. I do not know of any economy more false than not to pay our teachers enough to keep the public schools going. We must pay the skilled teacher and the skilled expert in sanitation and public-health matters enough to keep him on the job. I am glad to see the awakening to the necessity of keeping alive and making more militant and powerful the great spiritual forces of the country, which have been engulfed in the recrudescence of bitter partisan passions that are submerging America's finer spirit and best aspirations. Only by reviving the spiritual forces of the country can we keep America in the right path. I am glad to see that the churches have undertaken the raising of great funds. Ministers have been the most underpaid class except teachers. No nation can long survive the extinction of its spiritual forces.

"We must realize that a large part of what seems swollen and needless at Washington is the necessary aftermath of the war. It will take time and intelligent work to produce the necessary contraction, but economies certainly can be gradually brought about. An intelligent study under normal conditions might do much toward making these departments more homogeneous. But the Executive is constantly hampered by Congress when it is opposed to him politically. If we have an Executive in Washing-

ton backed up by a working majority of both branches of the Congress, enabling him to carry forward definite policies, a great many things of value can be achieved.

"Still, we must recognize that, as the result of this war, the expenditures of the Government have got to be on a much greater scale for years to come. The liquidation of the war debts is bound to be carried over a considerable period of time. At the present rate the Court of Claims cannot pass upon all claims arising from the war in twenty-five years. We ought to dispatch these matters as quickly as possible, because, with so many uncertain factors; it is impossible to know just what the expenditures of the Government are going to be.

"We must have either a Democratic Administration all through or a Republican Administration all through, so that responsibility must be fixed in the coming election."

As to a budget system, the ex-Secretary agrees heartily in the idea, but insists that the one being considered at Washington will not get us far.

"We shall never have a budget system in this country that is worth a continental unless the power of Congress to make general appropriations is curbed effectively. We might get some relief through a departmental budget system which put upon the Secretary of the Treasury the power of reviewing all the departmental estimates, and submitting a budget to Congress with the President's approval. But so long as the Congress is free to create as many other obligations as it pleases—such as public-building 'pork barrels,' river and harbor bills—no genuine reform is possible. It is difficult to get reform along this line. I doubt if Congress will ever surrender any part of its power over appropriations. This country does not need a purely business administration."

Both Mr. McAdoo's temperament and experience lead him to emphasize the prime need of fairness in questions of labor:

"I met every class of railroad labor during the war to give them the Government's point of view, and with a view toward doing for them what they were entitled to and should have. I hope those people understand that I tried to be just to them. They did a great job on the railroads during the war. If we had not given these people proper consideration and a scale of wages we could not have expected to keep them on the railroads. Even if we did not want to be just, the protection and self-interest of the country

made it essential. I preferred to put it on the ground of justice. You cannot get anywhere in this world without justice. Suppose you could keep a man from leaving his job by law; you cannot control the quality of his work, you cannot make him work at all. That is absurd, un-American. You cannot get efficiency by compulsion, but only by contentment.

"We might as well face that fact first as last. In the future it must be the test of statesmanship that it shall bring about social justice and make unnecessary violent paroxysms within the industrial fabric. It is the bitter truth that in the past labor has rarely, if ever, secured any improvement without the strike. The fact that labor has this power makes its just exercise a matter of supreme importance. It should never be exercised in such a tyrannical way as to imperil the life and health of the community, and resort to it should always be deferred where it affects those vital industries on which the life and health of the community depend, until every effort has been exhausted through instrumentalities created voluntarily or by law to satisfy the situation."

Finally, as to the billions owed us by European countries, Mr. McAdoo said:

"I feel this way: If our Government would only rise to the heights of noble purpose which took us into the war, and ratify promptly the Peace Treaty so that we could contribute to the prompt reestablishment of order in Europe (which we could do astonishingly through a League of Nations), so that the peoples of Europe could get down again to the maximum of productive effort, their recuperative powers would astonish the world. Their powers are very much greater than pessimists admit.

"The debt they owe us involves in interest payments something like \$500,000,000 a year. If they could pay us interest we could reduce our annual budget correspondingly. As long as they do not pay, we have got to tax our own people \$500,000,000 per year to relieve the people of Europe of this amount. My suggestion is that we sell short-time bonds for a period of two years to cover this deferred interest instead of taking it out of our people by immediate taxation. In the meantime Europe would recuperate. When she begins paying the interest on her debt to us we shall not have to carry that load any further. It would be rational to take that course; it would give us as well as Europe some relief."

THE "PEACE" CRISIS OF APRIL

The German Challenge in the Ruhr Region and the Attitudes of Britain and France

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE ANNIVERSARY

WITH the current month we have arrived at the first anniversary of the formulation and presentation to the Germans of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. While the actual signing was delayed for a number of weeks, we have been in reality, since May, 1919, living under the jurisdiction of the Treaty of Versailles—nominally, at all events. The moment is, therefore, appropriate for a backward look and such a look is the more suitable since there has just arrived the first great crisis under the treaty, the crisis which raises the question as to whether the treaty will survive the first anniversary or be relegated to that waste-paper basket which has received so many solemn covenants, become "scraps of paper."

In the precipitation of this crisis two circumstances have played a major part, namely, the refusal of the United States to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and the similar refusal of the British to associate themselves with the French in applying it. The consequence has been to imperil that alliance which defeated Germany, to eliminate America from Europe, and to impel the British on a course which leads to a similar withdrawal from the continent. To-day France, loyally but not impressively aided by Belgium, stands where she stood in July, 1914, face to face with a hostile Germany, but lacking, this time, the powerful assurance of a Russian alliance.

What, then, is the cause of this strange transformation, this incipient disintegration of the association of powers, called the Entente, whose structure was cemented by the blood of common victories and defeats and dignified by the aspirations it represented for millions of men and women, aspirations which looked toward the destruction of the German military power and the vindication of the doctrines which we in the west called by the name of democracy?

Truly such a disintegration would be comprehensible had the German task been accomplished. Alliances rarely survive the realization of the ends for which they were made. But has the German task been accomplished? Obviously not, since the German army remains in the hands of the old order and through the German army the old order continues to control the German Government, although instead of a Kaiser we have an Ebert and instead of a Bethmann-Hollweg we have had a Bauer and have a Mueller.

What, then, is the cause of the approximate collapse of the alliance of western nations? Manifestly the differences which were first disclosed at Paris, when the Peace Conference assembled, and have steadily grown with each succeeding week and month. At Paris, America, Britain, Italy and France from the very outset pursued different objectives, while the domestic political conditions in each country presently enforced a complete subordination of foreign policy to domestic and parochial, even personal political considerations.

At Paris, Mr. Wilson proposed peace under the Fourteen Points. To his mind this peace would be one of conciliation, provided only the principles he advocated were adopted, and provided there should be created a League of Nations to administer the peace terms. Before accepting this platform of Mr. Wilson, the British amended it in such a fashion that no principle would or could interfere with the obtaining of what the British regarded as their legitimate rewards for their sacrifices in the war, namely the destruction of the German war fleet, the seizure of the German merchant marine and the possession of the German colonies.

Mr. Wilson accepted all these conditions and then, assured of British support, undertook to compel the Continental nations to modify their claims, which in reality never reached the real magnitude of the British. The result was initial chaos, presently par-

tially restricted by a series of compromises. Subjected to British and American pressure the French consented to modify their own program of security, provided France were assured the aid of Britain and America in case of a German attack. Italy simply left the Peace Conference. Japan obtained her will by threatening to leave.

Thus, in effect, Britain obtained her maximum demands without difficulty, thanks to American consent. America obtained what she desired (what the President desired) which was the chance to impose an American solution on the peace conference. Japan realized her demands by virtue of her threat. Italy quit the peace conference altogether and declined to subject her claims to outside reduction. Only the French stayed, submitting to the exactions of the British and the Americans, and taking in exchange the guarantee of the President and Lloyd George that their nations would come to the aid of France in case of a fresh German aggression.

But at the very outset it was clear that, having allowed her allies to reduce her claims, although they maintained their own in full vigor, France would be bound to insist that she receive all of her restricted share. Above all, since the French view of what was necessary for French security had been rather rudely dealt with, the French were bound to look to the Anglo-French insurance as of utmost importance. Therefore, when the United States Senate formally and on two occasions rejected the Treaty of Versailles, while failing even to consider the Anglo-French Treaty, the French were brought to the realization that they had made concessions only to find that they would have no guarantee of their safety.

France was thus, by the course of events in America, brought to the grim realization that she must stand alone again and Germany would have to fear no certainty of Allied intervention if she chose to renew the age-long contest along the Rhine. Thus France would be in a far worse situation than she faced in 1914, for then she had a sure Russian ally, and a well-founded basis of hope alike for British aid and benevolent neutrality on the Italian side. To put the thing bluntly, Britain and America had persuaded France to lay aside certain precautions, on the assurance that French armies would be supported by American and British; but having made her sacrifices, France saw promptly that there was no guarantee that the promised support would arrive.

The situation in France has become the decisive circumstance of the present crisis, and therefore it is essential to recognize its real origins. They go back to the Peace Conference. They arise from the policy of President Wilson, in seeking a peace upon conditions formulated by himself and accepted by the British, aside from those reservations made before the armistice and affecting "the freedom of the seas." In effect, Britain and America promised to go on Germany's note, provided France would not insist upon immediate and extreme payment; but the United States having so far failed to honor Mr. Wilson's signature, Lloyd George's had no value, save if that of Mr. Wilson were honored by his own country. The French situation is obvious.

II. THE BRITISH ASPECT

But if the refusal of the United States to perform its part, as promised by the President, deprived the French of the guarantees for security which they had sought justly in the peace settlement, the course of the British had an equally fatal consequence. Almost from the outset of the peace negotiations there was a party in England which looked to a settlement which should spare the Germans, even though France and the rest of Britain's allies were sacrificed.

This group belonged to two extremes, the idealists and the materialists. The idealists conceived that if Germany were not punished, if the peace terms were made sufficiently light, Germany would harbor no desire for revenge and would no longer be a menace to world peace. The materialists on the contrary cared nothing for Utopian considerations. They saw in Germany the best customer left in the world. They saw in Germany, fallen into disorder, the gravest obstacle to a restoration of trade, not alone in Germany but also in Central Europe.

But by an odd coincidence the actual desires of these two widely divergent groups were the same. Both desired favorable terms for Germany and both were hostile to France, because France as a result of her sufferings and losses in the war sought large reparations and as a consequence of her history demanded guarantees for her future protection. The result was a considerable British campaign for reducing the bill which was to be tendered to Germany at Versailles.

When the bill actually tendered became

known, then these same groups in Britain burst into full-throated denunciation of the treaty, of the French, of their own government, and of President Wilson. Then followed, as a logical extension, a demand for the modification of the treaty as it had been agreed upon—a modification which, in effect, amounted to a demand that France should abandon the more considerable portion of her claims for reparation and security, and that the United States, by consenting to cancel the debts due it from the Allied nations, should actually reduce the German burden by \$10,000,000,000.

The most striking exposition of this view was made by Keynes in his notable book. Keynes' proposal was that the United States should pay in money, the French in money and in security, while the Poles and all the other small races were to make equally great sacrifices. Only the British were to be permitted to keep their share, viz.: the colonies and the merchant marine—the naval marine being already under water. These modifications would accomplish two things; (1) they would placate the German, (2) they would insure the prompt restoration of German industry and thus open the German markets to the British. The idealists claimed that this was a step toward world peace and conciliation. The materialists argued it was the one escape from Bolshevism, economic ruin, the destruction of western civilization.

But note the effect of the proposed policy. France, already deprived of security by the American course, was now to be deprived of reparation for her terrible devastations. Actually the costs of the German war were to be apportioned between the French and the Americans, one to pay by the cancellation of the Allied loans, the other by the surrender of liens on German mines and claims upon Germany for reparation. As may be gathered, this proposal found great support in Britain, for it served British interests in every kind of way.

But it was equally inevitable that it should find less support in the United States, where the proposal to cancel debts met with amazed silence or contemptuous disregard, and in France, where the reduction of French claims for reparation spelled national ruin. As a consequence there were carried on in Britain two kinds of propaganda, attack upon the United States as mercenary, upon France as militaristic. This campaign was ignored, practically unperceived, in America,

but in France its full significance was promptly appreciated.

Thus in less than a year France found herself deprived of all pledges for military support, and faced by an aggressive attack in the matter of reparations, an attack coming from an ally who had profited far more and suffered far less than France in the war. Henceforth France felt that she would be compelled to defend the Treaty of Versailles, so far as her interests were concerned, not alone from German assault but also from British attack. That part of the treaty which insured security was gone, as a result of American action. That part which promised reparation was in danger as a consequence of British attack. What this situation would mean to the Germans the French clearly perceived. In this emergency France went through an election, the result of which was to disclose an almost unanimous national will to save the treaty, to preserve French interests in the document, and to resist British attempts to amend it to the advantage of Britain and Germany alike.

III. THE GERMAN ASPECT

We come now logically to the German aspect. What was Germany doing in the time when the alliance which defeated her was disintegrating? In the first place the defeat of the German armies and the demands of President Wilson had led to a more or less insincere change in control in Germany. The Kaiser and Ludendorff, the symbols of autocracy and of militarism, had been removed. A sort of tentative revolution had been begun, and there were called into power men who like Ebert and Bauer represented the Socialistic party, but represented that wing of the Socialists which had resolutely supported the militarists and the Junkers throughout the war.

Such a performance was totally unsatisfactory to the real opponents of the old régime, the men who had dared to speak out against it during the war. These men, together with the elements of disorder inevitably found in a country which has passed through a long period of trial culminating in a shattering defeat, precipitated a real revolution, which in December, 1918, and January, 1919, seemed to threaten the whole German edifice.

In this emergency Ebert and Bauer turned to the old militaristic group, to the officers of the old army, to suppress the real revolu-

tion. This course at once disposed of the freedom of the Ebert group. They became henceforth the creatures of the army they had invoked to save themselves from revolution. The army leaders, on their part, proceeded to suppress the revolution with a brutality quite in keeping with their Belgian exploits. The murders of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg are among the most shameful incidents in the history of any so-called civilized nation, and the assassination of Kurt Eisner was no less flagrant.

Thus the revolution was suppressed, a semblance of order was achieved, and Germany hoped that the appearance of a real revolution would deceive the western nations into granting favorable peace terms. On the whole this hope was not realized. The terms of the treaty of peace were materially modified in German interests at Paris, but the final document carried with it provisions which struck the German masses and militarists alike with profound amazement and horror. The horror was the greater because the militarists had artfully propagated the legend that the German army had not been defeated, could have prolonged the war indefinitely, and that the armistice had been merely consent to negotiate on the basis of the Fourteen Points.

Still Germany had to sign. For the moment refusal was unthinkable, since the British, French and Americans remained, superficially at least, united in a determination to enforce the treaty terms; and Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George, having drawn up the document, were bound to take German refusal as a personal as well as a national affront. Germany must then sign; but in signing, her purpose was at once to evade fulfilment, to seek every pretext for delay and chicanery, and to work and hope for the division among her enemies which would give her the desired chance to escape once for all from the consequences of her defeat.

It followed logically that the outburst of criticism in Britain over the terms of the treaty, coming from the directions I have indicated, exactly encouraged German purpose. British denunciations of the terms of the treaty, so far as these terms gave France or Poland anything at Germany's expense, were seized upon by the Germans; who joined hands with their old foes, the British, in a campaign of propaganda against French militarism, chauvinism, inhumanity.

Now what followed can be summarized briefly. From the moment the treaty be-

came effective Germany pursued a policy of evasion. She did not reduce her armies; she did not provide France with the coal which had been assured to replace the French coal supply made unavailable by German devastations. She refused to surrender her war criminals. This last circumstance is worthy of note. Originally it had been Britain and not France which insisted upon this point. Lloyd George had won a campaign on the issue "Hang the Kaiser," and he went to Paris to demand that his pledge be embodied in the treaty. But when it was embodied he lost interest, as British enthusiasm for punishment cooled.

France, on the contrary, without interest in the provision, urged its application, as a circumstance in maintaining the treaty. She saw with apprehension German policy of evasion becoming more and more successful, and rightly divined that Allied failure to enforce this conspicuous demand would serve to encourage German resistance to compliance with the far more important provisions covering reparation and disarmament.

In sum, for many months there went forward a process of disintegration among the Allies, and of increasing German evasion. The United States Senate killed the peace treaty, while the British campaign for its modification at French expense encouraged the German policy and the inevitable crisis arrived.

IV. THE KAPP COUNTER-REVOLUTION

The crisis took the form of a counter-revolution engineered by the more or less conspicuous tools of the old military crowd, while the real leaders waited in the background. Possessed of the army, assured of the support of the officers, the old elements suddenly proclaimed the end of the Ebert-Bauer régime, set up a ministry of their own and called in the troops to take charge of Berlin.

Without resistance the Ebert-Bauer group fled, disappearing with hardly more than a protest. The thing was almost unbelievably successful, if it were achieved without collusion. Still, having fled, the Ebert-Bauer Government proclaimed a general strike and the result was a situation in which the military crowd suddenly found themselves stayed. Unmistakably the hour had not come to take control openly, so the Kapp

group withdrew and the Ebert Government returned to Berlin.

But having returned, it had to choose between making terms with its old allies, the militarists, and the Socialist and radical elements, whose response to the demand for support and for a general strike had saved it. Unhesitatingly the Ebert Government flung itself back into the arms of the militarists, and licensed the Ludendorff party to proceed to the crushing of the democratic and radical groups which, particularly in the Ruhr Basin, resisted the Ebert Government and demanded either a new government or an active campaign by the existing government against the men responsible for the counter-revolution.

To be sure, not immediately but under pressure and with a certain regard for decent appearances, Ebert did get rid of Bauer and of Noske, whose responsibility for the recent events was notorious. But in calling Mueller to succeed Bauer, Ebert did not in the least undertake to break the domination of the Junkers over the army. On the contrary, the army was commissioned to invade the Ruhr regions, and proceed by a campaign of terrorism to suppress precisely those elements whose service in rallying to the Ebert Government had saved it, apparently against its own will, and balked the Kapp counter-revolution.

A more amazing policy it would be hard to imagine. Saved by the general strike, the Ebert Government proceeded to turn its saviors over to the tender mercies of precisely the men and purposes which had sought to procure its overturn. In estimating the meaning of the German revolution of April, this circumstance must always be kept in mind.

But at this stage two circumstances became important. To send troops to the Ruhr region was actually to violate the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, which expressly forbade German invasion of the neutralized district that had been created as one of the guarantees of French security against German invasion. In the second place, the hour had arrived when, under the terms of the treaty, Germany must radically reduce her military establishment.

Germany's first move was to ask permission to disregard the treaty. America and Britain were quite ready to grant this permission. To neither of them did a destruction of the neutralized district carry the smallest peril. Moreover they accepted at

face value the German plea that it was a necessary campaign against Bolshevism, a step to restore order in Germany and thus to open the way for economic integration.

But the French, as was their obvious right, declined to consent to such a course, because they saw clearly that it amounted to another invasion of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, another step in the direction of destroying it, and a step which had for France the gravest possible consequences. Moreover, the French challenged the German claim that it was necessary to make such a military campaign, insisting that the Ruhr conditions did not warrant it.

Now it is important to recognize that the law was with the French. The treaty made certain clear prohibitions. It made them a detail in insuring French security, and with the approval of the whole Peace Conference. For Germany to send troops into this region, against French protest, was then to violate the treaty, quite as clearly as sending troops into Belgium amounted to violation of the treaty guaranteeing Belgian soil. In refusing consent, the French were following exactly the course of the Belgians, when they declined to waive the treaty guaranteeing their own existence, and as an alternative took up arms to resist the Germans in August, 1914.

Even the Germans hesitated in the face of the facts; but they finally compromised by sending the troops and denying, for the moment, that they had been sent, following the old familiar German method, which was practised so often during and before the World War.

V. THE CRISIS

Once the troops were sent, there arrived the crisis toward which events had been tending for many, many months. In effect, Germany had said to France, "We know that your allies have deserted you, we know that you stand alone, and we believe that you do not dare to act alone. You see what all your provisions of the Treaty of Versailles are worth. You see how much we care for them."

The French, moreover, perceived with utmost clarity that if they did not meet this challenge there was an end of all hope of enforcing the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. If Germany could once successfully disregard the treaty in the vital matter of the Rhine barrier, alleging that she was

compelled to do it because of domestic disorders, she would never lack a similar pretext. Had she not found herself, in August, 1914, compelled, as a matter of "necessity which knew no law," to invade Belgium?

For the French, then, there was the alternative, to act alone or to abandon the whole treaty. France chose to act alone. She moved troops into the cities of Frankfurt and Darmstadt, and served notice upon Germany and upon the world that the troops would remain until the Germans evacuated the Ruhr regions and thus placed themselves once more under the jurisdiction of the Treaty of Versailles. That France would take this course was quite apparent for many days before, since all Frenchmen were united in the determination to save the treaty, as the sole possible means of saving France herself.

But if the German maneuver had led to an action on the part of France which the Germans, at the least, had not foreseen, it had, by contrast, succeeded entirely in all other respects. It resulted in the public disclosure in baffling fashion of a schism in the Entente. If America remained silent, with unmistakable disapproval of French action only a little covered by this official reticence, Lloyd George, ignoring his own Foreign Office and following the example of Mr. Wilson, issued through his private secretary a minatory denunciation of French action and sent to Paris the grim statement that, if the French continued to act alone, Britain would recall her representative in the Ambassadors' Council, the last surviving representative of the Supreme Council of Paris; and the end of Anglo-French association would thus arrive.

And so, less than a year after the agreement upon the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, the association of nations which had won the war and written the treaty seemed on the very edge of disappearance. The Germans, challenging France by a direct, undisputed violation of the Treaty of Versailles, had driven the French to take a step which evoked open and official disapproval in London and called forth criticism, not sympathy or cooperation, in Washington and Rome. Only Belgium, which like France has a common frontier with the Germans, rallied to the support of France, since the destruction of the neutral zone brought German armies as near to Liège as to Verdun.

In Britain, the press and the public men who had advocated the support of France at

the moment of German attack in 1914, the men who had supported the war and insisted upon its being carried to victory, cried out in alarm at British policy. But the press which had advocated that Britain stay out of the struggle, and rung the changes upon the commercial profits incidental to neutrality, now acclaimed the course of Lloyd George; and both defended the Germans and denounced the French.

On neither side was there any concealment of the fact that the Georgian course had imperiled the Entente with France, which had subsisted for more than a decade and a half, ripened into close coöperation and in the course of the war developed into an alliance which had been responsible for the salvation of the world through the defeat of Germany. On neither side was there any concealment of the fact that the moment had come when the British Government must find some common basis for agreement with the French which would recognize more generously the existing British policy, as well as French conceptions of what was necessary for security, or risk an open break which would deprive the Anglo-French Entente of all vitality.

VI. THE CASE OF FRANCE

In this crisis, I would have my readers see the French situation freed from the fog created by sentimental misapprehension. In the first place, the Prime Minister, Millerand, is as far from being a militarist as the eminent Mr. Baker, who presides in our own State, War and Navy Building. In the second place, the Parliament upon which he depends has only recently been elected, long after the war, and elected upon the issue of French rehabilitation. So far from being extremely obdurate toward Germany, M. Millerand was almost upset, at the start, because he included within his ministry at least one man who had been criticised for his pacific tendencies in 1917, at the hour of the greatest stress.

In the second place, the position which M. Millerand has taken is not in advance but behind that advocated in the Chamber: He could not retain office for a single hour if he consented to withdraw French troops, or consented in the name of France to the violation of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, especially in a department which so intimately concerns French safety as that dealing with the Rhine zone.

Finally, and the point is capital, M. Millerand represents a Parliament elected upon the clear issue of the enforcement of the treaty. It is not the view of Foch and the French soldiers, primarily, which is expressed in French policy at the present moment. It is the view of the great mass of the French people, who see in the treaty the sole recompense for their enormous sacrifices in blood and treasure. Security and reparation—these are for all Frenchmen the foundation stones of a restored France.

Now what has been the course of events since the Peace Conference met, seen from French eyes? What was the Peace Conference itself? Primarily a conflict between French representatives seeking to secure France, and Anglo-Saxon representatives striving to reduce French claims, either to establish that order of world affairs which they believed would abolish war, or, as in the case of certain but by no means all British elements, so to mitigate the German terms as to serve British commercial interests—all mitigation, however, to be at French expense, for there was no British insistence upon the return to Germany of the colonies, or of the merchant marine taken by the British. Germany was to be rehabilitated, but the cost was to be borne in money by the United States, and in security and reparation by the French.

This battle in the Peace Conference resolved itself into a series of compromises. France gave up much, but in return she obtained certain promises from the nations at whose insistence she yielded. The treaty which emerged was unsatisfactory to the French people, as a whole, but they accepted it as the best obtainable, and looked to its guarantees for what had been omitted in the matter of more direct recognitions of French claims for security.

But, even before the treaty was signed, the British and the Americans took their armies home and disbanded them. France was left mounting guard upon the Rhine with only a handful of British and American troops. Moreover, not only did American and British armies go out of existence, thus eliminating the possibility of prompt support to France, if she were attacked by the Germans again, but the American Senate, by rejecting the treaty, abolished the obligation implied in it, and contained in the corollary document of insurance, of military assistance to France.

This was the first step. Next came the

agitation in Great Britain, in which Keynes' book played so considerable a part, for revision downward of the treaty terms, which would have reduced the amount of French reparation at the precise moment when the American Senate's course had deprived the French of the most important single benefit under the treaty—namely, security against German aggression. Finally, there followed the German invasion of the Ruhr district, in defiance of the treaty, and the denial of British support for the counter measures proposed by the French.

The French press and the French leaders saw in this British policy nothing less than a revelation of a purpose to insist that Britain should have a right to approve or veto French action, even when French safety was in question. France was willing to present her case to the Allies, but manifestly unwilling to subordinate her judgment to that of Britain when she was convinced that the British estimate was mistaken and French safety was at stake. She did not assert her right to act independently on all occasions; she merely insisted upon the right to act when the issue was one of utmost importance.

The French policy expressed in the occupation of Frankfort remains unshaken in the face of many exchanges of notes. It explains the French course in the recent past, and will explain such action in those new crises which seem bound to follow now that the German has succeeded in creating at least temporary disarray in Allied ranks by his 'Ruhr maneuver. For him salvation seems assured if only he can keep France agitated and Britain beguiled.

VII. THE PROSPECT

There remains the single question: What for the future would be the consequences of any actual collapse of the Entente? It is quite clear at the outset that a break between France and Britain, if it is absolute, destroys the last remaining prospect of a rescue for the League of Nations. The United States and Great Britain, isolated from the Continent and necessarily separated from each other, as a consequence would cease to exercise any control or influence upon Continental affairs. Any association of nations in the sense in which we talked a year ago would disappear.

In the second place the German militarists in control of Germany to-day, having with the approval of America and Britain used

their strength to crush all opposition within Germany, would find themselves masters of the German structure as completely as before 1914. It would be for them to decide in what direction to pursue their familiar ends, whether to go east and south, demolishing Poland and absorbing the fragments of the old Hapsburg Empire, or west and crush France.

There never was, and there does not exist, any hope of eliminating militaristic control in Germany, save through a continued association of the western nations to that common end. But the association has been endangered while the German army remains under control of the Ludendorffs and their kind, and the German Government remains at the mercy of the army. The real opponents of German militarism within Germany have once more been treated to the spectacle of western nations consenting to their destruction at the hands of the militaristic element, because the western nations do not understand German conditions and are more interested in German trade than in German deliverance.

Conceivably the gravity of the crisis which has now arisen will have its sobering effect in England. British policy has now to decide unmistakably between supporting and sacrificing France. And there are still influences of real importance which oppose and will continue always to oppose so radical a transformation of British policy as is inherent in Mr. Lloyd George's virtual proposal to break with France altogether, to the permanent gain of Germany, if France refuses to see her own safety as Mr. Lloyd George sees it. On the other hand, there is no blinking the fact that Lloyd George has embarked upon a policy which, if pursued, leads straight to the complete rupture with France.

French policy will not and cannot change, because the mass of the French people are satisfied that further yielding to Germany, even on British demand, spells ruin. France will strive with such strength as she has, and it is considerable, to enforce the treaty, which the British and American representatives, together with the French, accepted, but which the American Senate has rejected and the British Prime Minister has seemed to France to ignore.

German policy, by contrast, will follow exactly the opposite policy. So long as the Germans do not feel able to challenge France in a new war, Germany will pursue a policy of evasion, adapted to catching British sup-

port, hampering French recovery, but just missing actual warfare. To-day it is a question of disarmament; and Germany has proposed a postponement. France will insist upon compliance with the treaty, but the British may demur. Then France will have to use force or consent that Germany stay armed.

To-morrow there will be a question of money payments for reparation. Again Germany will protest; again there will be considerable support for Germany in Britain. Once more the thing will take the natural course. There are other test issues. For months the Germans have failed to give France the coal promised under the treaty. Is France now to insist and use force to compel compliance, or let her economic life languish because the coal is not forthcoming?

Under the terms of the treaty, France was to evacuate the occupied regions within a fixed period, provided that Germany complied with the terms of the treaty. But if Germany evades, France can and doubtless will continue to occupy German territory, and to extend the occupation if the evasions continue. But this means only a multiplication of incidents, of collisions, of disputes. Always, moreover, one of these disputes can lead to a new war, unless France takes rigorous measures to render Germany helpless. And such measures would provoke British and Italian and even American protests, not impossibly. A new war might easily involve all of the world again, because no man can measure the extent of an international disturbance.

Outside of an agreement between France and her allies of the past, to enforce the treaty or to modify it, there is no conceivable escape from the vicious situation of the present hour. But for France the present treaty represents the minimum of justice and security, the least France can accept and be safe and solvent. Therefore, French assent to modification is impossible. But particularly in the case of the British there is more and more acceptance of the view that the treaty must be modified. Neither Britain nor America has any material interest in further application of the treaty. America has lost interest; Britain seems unwilling to incur risks and expenses which will only give benefits to France.

As for Italy, she broke with France last year at Paris, when Clemenceau followed Wilson instead of Orlando in the matter of Fiume. She has not forgiven, and will not

forgive, what she regards as a desertion of an ally by France. She is rejoiced now to see France in the same position she felt that she occupied at Paris. Beyond this, she would welcome a German renaissance, whatever militaristic circumstances attended it, which would menace the Slav states, erected by the Treaty of Versailles, in the pathway of her own interests and diminish French influence, enlisted on behalf of the Slav states and of Greece, whose lands Italy occupies in part.

What has arrived is nothing new. It is the last phase in every world conflict—in every general war. Victory attained, the immediate menace eliminated, the common peril abolished, the several allies find themselves no longer united in a common cause but divided by different and even by conflicting interests. Germany remains a peril for France and Belgium; but Germany without a fleet is not a menace to Britain or to America. As for Italy, her immediate danger disappeared when Austria-Hungary collapsed; and only the Austrian issue separated her from a natural alliance with Germany.

The result is the threatened dispersion of the alliance in almost the same fashion as the alliance which conquered Napoleon collapsed a century ago. The real difference between the two situations lies in the fact that while Napoleon was left on St. Helena, the Napoleonic circumstance in Germany, namely, the military group, remains in control of the army and dominates the government. In this lies the peril of the present hour and the true misfortune of what must be regarded as a premature, if inevitable,

crumbling of the association which won the military phase of the German war but measurably failed to translate its victory into effective peace.

As I read the proofs of this article on April 15, Paris but not London reports a distinct improvement in the situation. But Paris and London agree that the main issue involved remains unsettled and will probably prove the most important topic of discussion at the momentous conference which is about to assemble at San Remo. The decisions there taken will be known to my readers before this article is printed, and forecasts are therefore futile. Yet it is well to keep in mind, in examining the San Remo gathering, that beyond all else Anglo-French policy for the future must there be agreed upon.

The first real crisis in the application of the Treaty of Versailles has had its origin in a willingness on the part of the British to see the document amended, and a decisive protest by France against such amendment. France has asked that the treaty be applied. Britain has tended to support a policy of alteration. Germany has seized upon this moment in which to violate the provisions of the treaty deliberately, and France has met violation with an extension of the occupation of German territory. What remains to be discovered is whether France and Britain can now reach a basis of agreement for the future, adopting a common policy prescribing the method and degree of enforcement of the treaty. Success in this direction means the preservation of the Entente; failure, a rapid expansion of that fissure in the Allies which the events of the past month have disclosed.



Wide World Photos

BAGGAGE OF THE GERMAN COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY FORCES PASSING OUT OF THE BRANDENBURG GATE

JOHN A. BRASHEAR OF PITTSBURGH

A MASTER OF PRECISION AND A FRIEND OF HUMANITY

BY HERBERT T. WADE

IN an article on "American 'Captains of Industry'" in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for April, 1902, there was listed among the foremost industrial leaders invited to meet at luncheon Prince Henry of Prussia, then on a visit to the United States, an instrument-maker and astronomer to whom the observatories and laboratories of the world were indebted for instruments of precision. To John A. Brashear, who had spent twenty-one years of a busy life in a Pittsburgh rolling mill, it is doubtful if the opportunity of meeting a prince of the blood appealed with any particular force or as a special honor, but his selection among the foremost Americans surely met with universal approval in a wide circle ranging from scientists to the newsboys of Pittsburgh, to all of whom "Uncle John" was both a friend and inspiration. But whatever the distinction, the selection has stood the test of time which has not dealt so generously with others of that group and which has diminished somewhat the esteem in which the title Captain of Industry then was held.

Accordingly Doctor Brashear's death on April 8 produced a sincere feeling of grief that was far from confined to his own city and associates and also drew attention to the remarkable career of a man whose scientific achievements were only exceeded by the love and esteem in which he was held by all who knew him. At the time of the Panama-Pacific Exposition, when asked to nominate the foremost citizen of Pennsylvania, Governor Brumbaugh without hesitation selected Doctor Brashear for that honor, while official and unofficial Pittsburgh unquestionably would have acclaimed him as its first citizen.

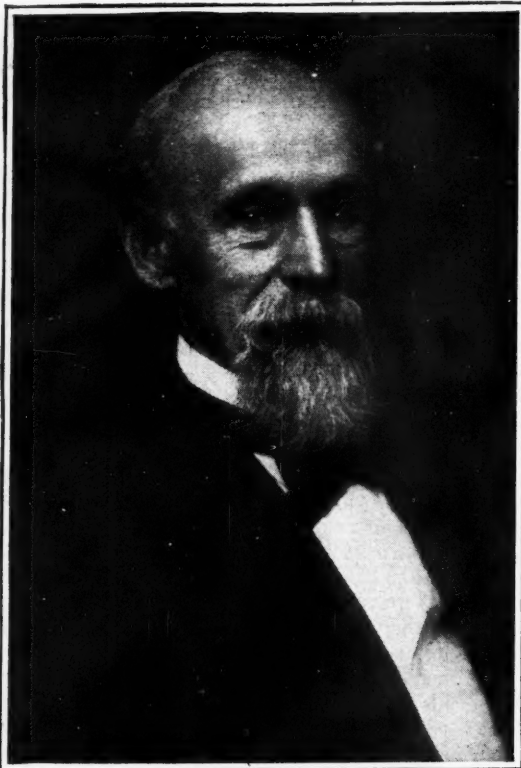
In American civic life this unofficial honor when bestowed comes only to those who have done very much and say what is distinctly worth while. Such indeed was John A. Brashear, whose career is worthy of study not only by the rising generation, but by

many in university circles, especially those who believe that only in elaborate organization and formalism can come achievements in the advancement of science and in human betterment. Honored with many degrees and membership in learned societies, Doctor Brashear was a product not of the university but of the machine shop and home study, and his individualism never was subordinated to artificial and impersonal restraints.

Born at Brownsville, Pa., November 24, 1840, of sturdy American parents, John A. Brashear attended the public schools of that town until sixteen years of age, when he was apprenticed to learn the pattern-maker's trade. At the age of eight came his introduction to astronomy, when he was permitted to view the heavens through a telescope that one Squire Wampler was exhibiting at a charge of five cents a look.

This telescope, it may be said in passing, had its object glass fashioned from a piece of glass saved from the Pittsburgh fire of 1845 and was typical of the equipment used by a large number of amateur astronomers who flourished at a time when interest in the stars was more general than in these later days. Possibly the elaborate observatory equipment and lack of sympathy for the amateur in science have tended to discourage that individual in astronomy as in other fields. The glimpse of the stars so impressed the young boy that the interest thus stimulated remained with him his entire life and early developed an ambition as later expressed that "whenever an opportunity offered, or if I could make one, I would have a place where all who loved the stars could enjoy them." This ambition, it is interesting to state, was fulfilled at the Allegheny Observatory, where a special large telescope and lecture room some years ago were set apart for the use of the public.

From the pattern shop Young Brashear entered a rolling mill as millwright at a time



DR. JOHN A. BRASHEAR

when Pittsburgh was not a place of eight-hour work or eight-hour thought, and when men who worked in the mills sought to use their minds in discovering ways to increase production and their own self-development. With Brashear it was the study of physics and astronomy that called, and, married at the age of 22, he found in his wife an eager and helpful companion in his scientific tastes. These soon developed the desire to build and own a telescope, and accordingly a small shop was installed at the simple home where after work hours the young machinist and his wife would repair and spend their evenings. Here not only were the tubes and mountings finished, but lenses were ground, polished and tested. Three years were required to grind and finish a 5-inch object glass for this first telescope, and then it was taken to Dr. S. P. Langley, Director of the Allegheny Observatory, to determine precisely its faults and correction.

Two years of work on a mirror for a larger and reflecting telescope unfortunately came to naught when it was broken, but the discouragement was only temporary and the

work was resumed. By this time frequent visits to the observatory had developed on the part of Dr. Langley an appreciation of Brashear's talents and mechanical skill, while William Thaw, who was a patron of the observatory, sought out the author of notes and letters on popular astronomy that appeared in the newspapers over the initials "J. A. B."

It is reported that Mr. Thaw said, "Young man, I have learned more astronomy from your letters to the papers than I have from a great many books," and this might be pondered by those who deprecate "newspaper science." The interest of Dr. Langley and Mr. Thaw led to Brashear establishing an instrument shop near the observatory in 1880, and this graduate of the rolling mill became connected with an observatory whose acting director he was destined to be in 1898-1900 and with the University of Western Pennsylvania, now University of Pittsburgh, of which he was acting chancellor from 1901-1904. The shop near the observatory soon began to figure in international science. Here it was that Langley, then working on the bolometer to measure the radiation in the infra-

red spectrum, was able not only to have repaired and refinished his prisms and lenses of rock salt, hitherto made and refinished only in Paris, but to have new apparatus of ever greater accuracy and finish built under his own direction by one with whom he became a constant associate. Even in Langley's ideas on a flying machine was Brashear frequently consulted.

For Professor Pickering, of Harvard, a large quartz prism for the spectroscope was made. For Professor Hale, then of the Kenwood Observatory, Chicago, was built the spectroheliograph which made possible the study of the solar prominences and led to valuable knowledge of the composition and nature of the sun, while shortly afterward was constructed a similar instrument for Professor Deslandres, of Paris, who straightway initiated special researches in this field. The Mills spectroscope for Lick Observatory, apparatus for Lowell at Flagstaff, and Keeler at Allegheny, were built, as work in astrophysics advanced.

For Rowland at Johns Hopkins the metallic reflecting gratings for his spectro-

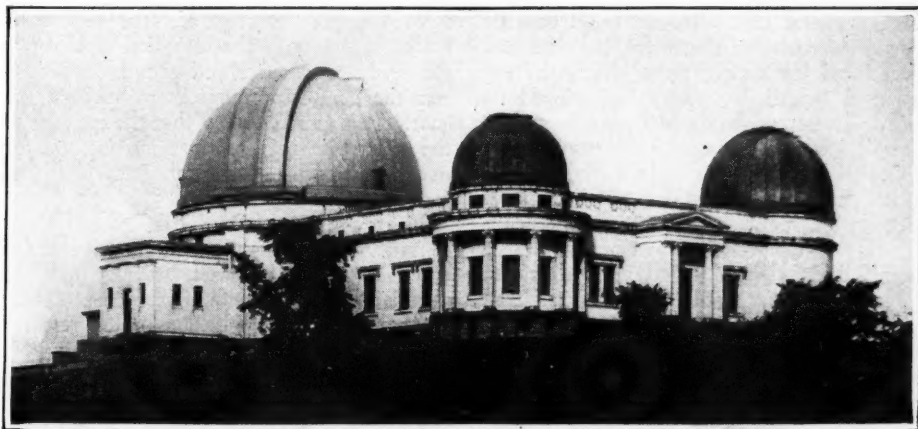
scopic studies were made and for Michelson the optical parts of the interferometer developed for the International Bureau of Weights and Measures at Sèvres, near Paris. This instrument is of primary importance, for with it was determined the world's standard of length, the prototype meter, in terms of the wave length of light. For it Dr. Brashear made optical planes and mirrors accurate to one-twentieth of a wavelength of light or less than one-millionth of an inch.

By this time Brashear's work and his position in astronomical and physical science had become firmly established and there was hardly an observatory in the world that did not possess one or more of his instruments, ranging from a complete telescope down to a simple prism, optical plane or grating. The plant gradually grew to a point where it could manufacture considerable high grade and special apparatus, and the 72-inch mirror for the reflecting telescope of the Dominion of Canada Observatory at Victoria, in British Columbia, completed in 1918, represents, perhaps, its most recent important undertaking.

To the shop and simple home in Pittsburgh came distinguished scientists from the entire world, to whom the sweet, simple, genial characters of Dr. Brashear and his wife were no less appealing than his scientific and mechanical talents. Lord Kelvin, Kayser of Bonn, Wolf of Heidelberg, Sir Robert Ball, and many others from abroad, partook of their hospitality. It fell to few men to travel as widely and know as many of the workers in science as he. His circle indeed swept a wide orbit.

In the hands of Brashear the development and manufacture of instruments of precision involved exact science to as high a degree as it did exact workmanship and practice, and in providing the tools for some of the greatest scientific work of the ages he was recognized as a collaborator rather than a mere mechanic, and his work was ungrudgingly appreciated. However scientific and however precise the task there was always the pride of craftsmanship that has distinguished so many American mechanical engineers, and while his manufacturing involved precision rather than tonnage or quantity production, his fellow engineers were no less proud of his achievements than were the scientists. In 1914 Dr. Brashear was elected president of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers.

The breadth of Dr. Brashear's interest was as extensive as his friendships, and of the many activities in which he participated one may be mentioned here as a sample. His concern in the welfare of teachers led to a millionaire friend placing in his hands a fund of \$250,000 to improve teaching conditions in Pittsburgh and an immediate result was sending seventy teachers to various summer schools. On November 24, 1915, all of Pittsburgh united to celebrate "Uncle John's" 75th birthday, and a fund generally subscribed to was presented as a token of the affection of his fellow citizens. Of him Charles M. Schwab once wrote, "It seems to me that of all the men of fame and achievement I have known, he is the most wonderful. His life is full of inspiration and help for every person interested in making the most of himself."



THE ALLEGHENY OBSERVATORY UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

SPIRITUALISM AND SCIENCE

A Census of Opinion among Scientists and Psychologists
on "Psychical Research", Telepathy, and the Supernatural

BY JOSEPH JASTROW

(Professor of Psychology, University of Wisconsin)

LEADERSHIP implies social responsibility. From this function men of science are not exempt. It is their obligation to make knowledge accessible, to interpret as well as to extend its message. Public thinking must bear the impress of the scientific quality. The distinction between truth and error, the protection from half-truths and specious counterfeits is, in many aspects, a charge upon the scientific mind. Through the ministrations of science, the sources of knowledge are kept pure. Civilization is maintained in its progressive orbit by the vigor of the intellectual instincts, by training in the severe discipline of experiment and observation in the physical and mental relations. A scientific habit of mind, a sanity of outlook, a consistency of interpretation, a profound respect for the meaning of natural law, are the benefits which such training seeks to confer. The social mission of science includes the duty to allay unrest, to correct misleading tendencies, whenever and wherever they appear.

Among the evidences of intellectual upheaval following the catastrophe of the world war, the revival of mystic and superstitious tendencies is notable. It is a phase of the general instability issuing from the proved insecurity of the social, political and educational institutions upon which the enlightened twentieth century had pinned its faith. The strongholds of reason have had to resist the fierce assaults of passion and prejudice, leaving the issue in doubt. While in its practical applications to the instruments of destruction, and in the maintenance of a war régime, science has emerged with a magnified prestige in its attempt to subject to reason the organized forces of desire and will, its reputation is damaged, its occupation questioned. A by-product of this intellectual and spiritual depreciation—significant despite its marginal place—is the revival of, or, better, the lapse back to a belief

in spirit-agency and in unrecognized forces, as they appeal to strong personal interests.

For the American situation the resurrection of the occult has been stimulated by the popular platform appeal of a distinguished physicist from across the friendly seas. His prestige has released tendencies that have always found a favorable culture-bed in the American soil; it has invited the more hesitant adherents of the occult to an avowed under respectable patronage.

Psychical Research—How Related to Science

The preparation for such a campaign in behalf of a belief in spirit-agency dates back to the foundation (London, 1882) of the Society for Psychical Research. This society is responsible for a formidable body of publications, which pursue a program and reveal a trend. In these investigations the scientific and extra-scientific (or occult) interests contend for supremacy. The standards and technique of scientific evidence have influenced, but by no means wholly determined, the problems and methods and animus of the movement; the conclusions depart widely from such standards. Psychical researches may be credited (the most careful of them) with the intention to bring to the study of obscure and complex phenomena the complete resources of modern science. It is also conceded that the conduct of the enterprise reflects the presence, though not the adequate functioning, of a logical conscience.

By its program, "Psychical Research" was committed to keep abreast of the advances of psychology in all phases bearing upon its peculiarly selected group of problems. There is no reason why this domain of research should not have been incorporated within the generous boundaries of modern psychology; in that event the distinctive name would have meant only a certain content and

range of problems, not a bent and a bias. The fact is unmistakable that the development and the support of its enormously popular appeal has a different source. This type of investigation is occult only in so far as it is supported by the "occult" type of interest. By historical affiliation and anthropological tradition the term "occult" is appropriate. The pedigree of Psychical Research, however altered its modern procedure, cannot be ignored.

The situation thus resulting is unfortunate, indeed anomalous. We can with difficulty think ourselves back to the days when chemistry was still fettered by its alchemistic affiliations, or when the vocation of astronomer carried the obligation to cast horoscopes. Psychology is less fortunate; to many of its devotees the misfortune seems also an injustice. That *psychological* powers should mean one thing, and *psychic* powers mean another, is deplorable; especially as the two meanings are irreconcilable. The one not only encroaches upon, but in so far as it secures a foothold, impeaches the sovereignty of the other.

A Questionnaire

The situation must be frankly faced. The public should know how psychologists, whose authority is thus questioned, view the claims of the Psychic Researchers presenting a brief for the supernatural. The interests of all scientific men are involved. The invasion of the supernatural affects equally the allied and associated sciences; it is only because the evidence advanced requires a psychological interpretation that the issue is brought to the jurisdiction of that court for trial. To secure the desired information, I addressed a circular letter to certain members of the American Psychological Association and to the entire membership of the National Academy of Sciences (about 150). Among the former I selected those who were primarily psychologists, and added representatives of related pursuits (education, psychiatry, philosophy) who had strong psychological interests, until half of the list (about 175) was canvassed. The present conclusions are based upon 150 replies—by 80 psychologists and by 70 scientists.

The census shows so decided and positive a preponderance of view that it may be accepted as the representative, indeed, nearly unanimous, verdict of psychologists and scientists alike. The failure to reply may in part be due to the conviction that the hy-

potheses in question lie so far out of the range of legitimate science as to require no consideration. An impatience or distaste for anything bordering upon the supernatural may well find its registration in the wastebasket. Indications of this attitude appear in the returns.

The circular letter reads:

In view of the strong interest in the findings of what is commonly called "Psychical Research," it is important that the public should know how men of science view such matters. Will you kindly send me a brief statement of your opinions on the following points:

(1) *What is your view of the statements made by Sir Oliver Lodge and other men of distinction in regard to the alleged proofs of communication with the spirits of the dead?*

(2) *How do you regard the using of his prestige as a physicist in behalf of a propaganda for belief in spirits?*

(3) *How do you view the evidence in favor of telepathy?*

(4) *Do you care to express yourself in regard to the effect of such beliefs on the habits of mind, regarded as a matter of social sanity?*

(5) *Will you add to your answers any other considerations which you think important in their bearing upon the general problem presented?*

In addition I should be glad to know whether the following expresses your views with sufficient accuracy to enable you to give it your endorsement:

"The present revival in the belief in spirits proceeds largely upon the ancient and natural tendency to favor such beliefs. It is a striking example of the will to believe, in which an emotional prejudice obscures the weakness of the evidence. So far as concerns the physical phenomena, they have been uniformly shown to be the result of fraud. They are generally practiced by mediums of doubtful reputation, and the performances have been duplicated by ingenious tricks. There is little connection between the inability of the observer to determine how the effects are produced and the inference that they are due to the control of supernatural forces. The psychical phenomena are more complex. Most of them are of the nature of the revelation of the private details apparently unknown to the medium. There is reason to conclude that such revelations may be ascribed to the accredited formulae of psychology, including subconscious indications, automatism of a dissociated personality, as well as to shrewd 'fishing' and reading of slight indications furnished by the sitters. The common tendency to herald the results of 'Psychical Research' as of like status with the accepted principles of science is pernicious and should be checked. In the interest of such a movement a clear statement of views of representative men of science is desirable."

It is my intention to use the results of this inquiry in order to make clear to the public the actual state of opinion among men of science in general and among psychologists in particular. I urgently request that you send me a reply with

the utmost promptness. Will you indicate what portions of this reply you *do not care to have cited in print?* In addition to a general summary of the statistics of my replies, I intend to print a selected set of answers to show the several types of opinion that prevail.¹

The Answers in a Nutshell

The general paragraph was framed for the benefit of those who would not take the trouble to phrase their views, but would be willing to indicate their endorsement of a statement that expressed their convictions fairly well. The result follows:

	Endorsed	Endorsed with Reservations	Endorsed by Implication	Not Competent to Answer	No Answer	Not Endorsed
Psychologists	67	3	4	0	2	4
Scientists	44	4	8	3	8	3

The reservations apply sometimes to the wording, sometimes to part of the statements. The implication was in all cases clear; yet specifically the question was not answered. Only four psychologists and six scientists approve the paragraph without answering other questions, while four other scientists substantially do so. The non-approval may vary from a position which holds the matter open, to a position mildly or strongly favoring the "Psychic Research" conclusions.

To summarize, disregarding fine distinctions: 130 endorse the statement of the paragraph; 13 do not reply; 7 do not endorse it. Expressed conservatively, this means that nearly 90 per cent of men of science hold a view distinctly opposed to any belief in spirit-agency or other power not recognized by accredited psychological principles; they regard the evidence submitted in support of such view as wholly inadequate and culpably uncritical.

Question 1 relates specifically to the evi-

¹The correspondence suggests three changes in the wording: (1) In Question 2, read: "If in your opinion Sir Oliver Lodge is using his prestige," etc., "how do you regard the matter?" (2) In the general paragraph insert "logical" between "little" and "connection." (3) The charge of fraud in "physical phenomena" applies to table-lifting and the moving of objects by mediums; it does not refer to the established place of involuntary (and in so far sincere) movements as a part explanation. Few correspondents were troubled by these ambiguities. There was some misunderstanding of a sentence for which the correspondents were responsible. It is plainly stated that the opposition relates to placing the results of "Psychical Research" and "the accepted principles of science" upon the same plane of evidence. There is no suggestion that such investigations should be opposed. In my opinion they should be encouraged for their psychological value. A correspondent expresses the point: "It is decidedly important that there be a wide separation between the status of so-called psychical research and that of real scientific investigation."

dence for spirit-agency and spirit-communication. The results may be classified thus:

	No Proof	Not Competent to Judge	No Answer	Favorably Impressed
Psychologists	66	8	5	1
Scientists	54	7	7	2

Question 3 invites a similar opinion in regard to telepathy. The replies are:

	No Proof	Not Competent to Judge	No Answer	An Open Question	Favorably Inclined
Psychologists	65	2	8	3	2
Scientists	38	2	23	5	2

To the vast majority of the correspondents the evidence for spirit-communication is totally unconvincing. The same applies to the hypothesis of telepathy, except that more decline to answer. The hesitation is intelligible. The evidence is technical in part; but there is also the temperamental factor. Some men require the confidence of a strong conviction and a fairly final statement before venturing an answer; others are prepared to register an opinion when the preponderance of probability and evidence is clear. Some men are more influenced by the inconsistency of the hypothesis with the findings of science; others rely upon the definite results of evidence to refute the alleged proofs. Both tendencies favor the conclusion that a natural explanation for the phenomena presented is so much more securely and rationally supported as to render the other hypotheses unnecessary and irrelevant. Many question whether either hypothesis has established a right to a hearing.

It is difficult to indicate the precise position of the small number of replies that incline to consider favorably the evidence for agencies or forces as yet unrecognized by science. The difficulty is increased by the expressed desire of some of the correspondents that their views be cited entirely or not at all. It may be recorded that one who regards the evidence for spirit-communication as unconvincing regards that for telepathy as positive rather than negative, and looks to the laboratory for a decision.

Some of the statements urge the importance of keeping an open mind on the issue, and maintain that the evidence in favor of

obscure forces cannot be brushed aside; the same expression occurs among those who agree with the majority opinion. Another correspondent does not as yet place confidence in the statements of Sir Oliver Lodge, but is perfectly open-minded on the issue, while he regards the evidence for telepathy as least conclusive. Yet another states that his opinion is not fully formed, that he is impressed by the evidence, by the men who support it, also by the more complex phenomena, such as cross-correspondence, and that he is strongly opposed to the dogmatic attitude of intolerance which many of his fellow-scientists assume on this issue. Another, who does not object to partial citation, says: "I should think all of us would agree that spirit-communication and telepathy were matters of discussion. Probably I differ from you decidedly in thinking that in the present condition of the problem neither of them should be regarded as either established or disproved, but as open questions."

More reserved opinions by men who regard the actual evidence as unconvincing are such as these: "I am on this subject an agnostic. I don't know. I must look for more evidence, but it will have to be very strong." Another, while very skeptical of the evidence, adds: "I am not prepared to say that there may not be psychic and ultra-material phenomena which are not subject to the ordinary laws of matter and energy."

The minority statements are uniformly cautious and refrain from endorsement of the detailed revelations appearing in the writings of convinced believers in spirit-agency and telepathy. Among the psychologists Professor William McDougall gives *Psychical Research* a place in the body of psychological interpretation. Of the evidence for spirit-agency he says that though impressive, it is not yet such as to "produce conviction in the mind of any impartial inquirer." Of telepathy he says that the evidence is such as "to compel the assent of any competent person who studies it impartially." To which may be opposed Professor Titchener's statement: "No scientifically minded psychologist believes in telepathy." The best summary of opinion on the telepathic and related issues appears in Professor Coover's most important volume: "Experiments in *Psychical Research*," Stanford University, 1917.

Both of the statements just cited appeared before the work of Professor Coover was published.

Nature of the Evidence for Telepathy

The issue in regard to telepathy is peculiarly decisive because it is a field open to experimental determination. The elaborate and careful work of Professor J. E. Coover at Stanford University tested the hypothesis by means of thousands of experiments and proved that the proportion of correct "transfers" did not exceed those accounted for by chance; that there was no higher percentage of correct guesses when a vivid imagery and an impression of correctness were present than when they were absent; that those who regarded themselves as possessed of unusual "psychic" powers (sometimes actually obtaining spirit-messages during the experiments) were no more successful in transferring the impressions than were ordinary subjects. Some of the experiments of the Society for Psychical Research showing transfer of thought were by detection and others by confession shown to be due to the use of collusion and shrewd reading of slight indications. Other favorable experiments show lax conditions and defective interpretations. This set of facts has naturally a strong influence upon men of scientific habit, with confidence in rigid laboratory methods and a strong suspicion of séance-room or dilettante looseness of condition and the unwarranted interpretation of prepossession.

The second and fourth questions relate to social obligations and effects. The more personal question is less important; it is an issue of propriety upon which opinions will naturally differ.

Forty-four psychologists and 37 scientists deplore the mingling of "physics" and "psychics," and many of these condemn it; 18 psychologists and 15 scientists excuse it as sincere, and some of these approve it; the rest do not reply, while a few submit guarded replies not easily tabulated. The condemnation varies from a statement that the position is "deplorable," "unscientific," "in bad taste," to "rather presumptuous," "a sheer travesty," "the method of a weak cause," "decidedly unethical," "not worthy of a scholar," "would be criminal if responsible," "an academic crime and scientific scandal," "an international misfortune." On the other hand the action is spoken of as "sincere but misguided," "sincere, hence justified," "wrong to object," and the charge of such abuse of prestige is itself unwarranted. The opinion that the effect of his statements will diminish the prestige of the speaker appears

often enough to be cited. The trend of opinion is clear.

The effect of such beliefs upon the thought-habits of those who cherish them is reported upon as follows:

	Harmful	Slightly so or Indifferent	No Opinion or No Reply	Special
Psychologists	57	11	9	3
Scientists	30	8	32	0

The temper of the replies will appear in a sample of phrases: "deleterious," "public menace," "reestablishes mediævalism," "backwash of emotionalism," "prolongs superstition," "favors irrational attitude," "baleful anachronism," "detrimental but mostly psycho-pathic," "no worse than other movements," "not particularly dangerous," "effect temporary," "may work both ways." Quite a number express the view that the tendency to favor the occult is an effect and not a cause of intellectual instability; that marked tendencies toward such beliefs are associated with neurotic, enfeebled, or other abnormal states. That the encouragement of such beliefs resulting from a serious and scientific endorsement is frequently viewed with apprehension and condemnation, is abundantly clear, and will reappear emphatically in the extracts that follow.

Conclusions of Experts

It remains to illustrate, so far as a limited selection permits, the temper and tenor of individual replies. These may be presented in four groups, as they bear upon the evidence for the supernatural; upon telepathy; upon the social effects of such views; upon the general relations of science (and philosophy) and "Psychical Research":

I. AS TO THE EVIDENCE IN THE CASE

I regard the alleged proofs of communication with the spirits of the dead as evidences, not of that, nor of any other supernatural, mysterious, undiscovered agencies, but of causes, mental and physical, of the wholly "natural" order, well-established, in scientific circles well known, and, to a large extent, well understood. My conviction is based on three propositions which I believe to be true: (1) Whenever the phenomena appealed to as evidence are adequately and reliably presented they are susceptible of explanation in terms of scientifically accepted "natural" causes. (2) Even if, in some cases, they were not yet fully so explainable, nevertheless temporary ignorance of true natural causes would not constitute proof of the spirit hypothesis, or even give it any degree of probability; and the phenomena

themselves, even in such cases, if there are any, furnish no proof that spirits are the agencies producing them.

I believe that honest controversy and discussion are essential to healthy progress. Investigators in "Psychical Research" very commonly arrive at conclusions that are not scientifically sound. But if there had been no "Psychical Research" and unfettered expression of its opinions and apparent findings, the truly scientific psychology would be to-day much the poorer in its understanding of the psychology of evidence, of automatic and subconscious activities, and much else.

E. B. DELABARRE, PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY, BROWN UNIVERSITY.

The alleged proofs of communication with spirits of the dead appear to me entirely to lack cogency. Belief in these "proofs," on the contrary, appears to depend fundamentally upon a failure to appreciate the full requirements of scientific proof, and upon failure to give weight to the negative facts and arguments. This latter failure, in its turn, seems fundamentally due to a natural tendency to believe in the easy, simple and naïve explanation, and in the desire to believe in the instinctively or emotionally satisfying one.

WILLIAM S. FOSTER, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA.

It seems to me there is an insufficiency of the evidence; a triviality of the alleged communications; a really materialistic and ungrounded basis of the conception of "ethereal bodies," etc.

MARY WHITON CALKINS, PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY AND PSYCHOLOGY, WELLESLEY COLLEGE.

In my opinion, the only possible subject of controversy is as to whether some of the statements of mediums of good character, such as Mrs. Vernal and possibly Mrs. Piper, are entitled to any consideration. They are apparently genuine as opposed to the result of conscious fraud. To my mind, even these are explained by chance coincidences and the neglect of negative cases on the part of the observer. They have certainly made no revelations worth while, and I cannot bring myself to contemplate with great enthusiasm an eternity of the type they describe, reduced to an intelligence akin to idiocy. Scientifically they are not convincing, and ethically and esthetically they do not move my will to believe.

WALTER B. PILLSBURY, PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

Spiritism is counter to all our ground ideas in biology. Believing, as we do, in evolution, we see simple stages of all human activities (including mental activities) in lower animals. But all those activities in the lower animals cease with death. The obvious inference to an evolutionist is that the same is true in man. If man's spirit survives death, so logically does that of his dog, his horse, his cow, his cat, the mice that squeak in the walls of his barn, and the gnats and flies that sting and bite him.

WILLIAM E. CASTLE, PROFESSOR OF ANIMAL GENETICS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

While working with spiritualists I was struck forcibly by the circumstance that they remem-

bered or recorded in writing all of the results which seemed to them to be positive, and therefore interesting, and only a few, if any, of the negative, and therefore "non-essential," data. In Sir Oliver Lodge's book, "Raymond, or Life After Death," he states, as I remember, that only the more interesting results of his investigations are given. While reading his book I could not avoid becoming obsessed with the idea that some data of probable scientific interest were omitted as being non-essential.

P. F. SWINDLE, PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI.

II. AS TO TELEPATHY

The evidence in favor of telepathy seems to me fully accounted for on the basis of (a) collusion, (b) mental habits and "psychical communion," (c) conscious reading of involuntary signals, (d) unconscious reading of involuntary signals, (e) perhaps some subconscious elaboration upon subliminal stimuli. There is no good evidence in favor of telepathy as officially defined.

J. E. COOVER, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY, STANFORD UNIVERSITY.

I see no evidence of telepathy—a subject which abounds in false analogies. For instance, Sir Oliver Lodge, in his treatise entitled "Survival of Man," says, "Tell a secret to A in New Zealand and discover that B, in St. Petersburg, is before long aware of it: neither having traveled. How can this happen? The distance between England and India is no barrier to the sympathetic communication of intelligence in some way of which we are at present ignorant; that just as a signaling key in London causes a telegraphic instrument to respond instantaneously in Teheran, which is an every-day occurrence, so the danger of death of a distant child, or brother, or husband may be signaled without wire or clerk to the heart of a human being fitted to be the recipient of such a message." When we consider that the possibility of the communication of intelligence by electricity has resulted from the accumulation of facts, and from the application of mathematical analysis, during the last hundred years we see how false the above analogy is. There is no scientific basis, at present, in a belief in telepathy.

JOHN TROWBRIDGE, PROFESSOR OF PHYSICS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

As to telepathy, I believe it to be a complete fallacy. The record of failure when it ought to have worked is endless. Did ever a man taken prisoner in the late war "telepath" to his best and closest companions and friends information of a sudden attack or the like being prepared by his captors? If telepathy were a possibility, evolution would have in the long lapse of ages made it replace the sensory function. But are animals in danger, even up to man, able to telepath their condition to others of their tribe at a distance and so save themselves? The evolution test is a good one.

ELIHU THOMSON, ELECTRICAL INVENTOR, SWAMPSCOTT, MASS.

There is no evidence in favor of telepathy in-

terpreted in the "Psychic Research" fashion. Minds are almost incredibly sensitive to one another, and the remarkable rapport that often exists between them can be accounted for in terms of their hypersensitivity to the usual methods of conscious intercommunication through physical and psychological contact.

E. D. STARBUCK, PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.

The alleged proofs are of a character which would be rejected in any scientific problem, important or unimportant.

KNIGHT DUNLAP, PROFESSOR OF EXPERIMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

III. AS TO THE EFFECT OF VIEWS FAVORING THE SUPERNATURAL

My own view is that if Sir Oliver Lodge and other men of prominence in the scientific world had approached the problems of science in as naive an attitude as they have displayed toward the proofs of spirit communications, they would never have become prominent as scientists.

The unfortunate aspect of the case is that the weight of these great names is sufficient to unbalance the judgments of a multitude of half-educated people. It gives opportunity for the age-long hungering for miracles to assert itself.

NORMAN TRIPLETT, PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY, KANSAS NORMAL SCHOOL.

This social atavism or reversion to superstition cannot but have a pernicious influence on the public mind. It tends to annul scientific thinking, economic endeavor, and moral responsibility.

J. W. BRIDGES, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY, OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY.

Human nature seems capable of developing a high degree of psychical toleration, without impairment of social sanity, for erroneous beliefs which are accepted simply as dogma or custom. Pseudo-science, however, seems to me a more pernicious influence than crass superstition.

WILLARD C. GORE, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

It seems to me clear that the effects of such beliefs differ greatly in the case of different persons. In cases under my own observation, the entertainment of the belief in the large majority of people I know is no index whatever as to "social sanity"—it exercises no important influence helpful, or harmful, on their lives, their actions, their other beliefs. In a few cases it is distinctly useful as an intellectual stimulus, or a source of comfort and satisfaction without attending deleterious effects. In still other cases it is positively harmful, as belief in magic, superstition, occultism, has always on the whole, though not necessarily in every individual case, been harmful and sterilizing.

E. B. DELABARRE, PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY, BROWN UNIVERSITY.

I make no objection to it [Lodge's position]. It shows that the opinions of a scientist are no better than those of any other man, outside the

field of his special knowledge, if outside that field he abandons the critical attitude which he maintains within it. It is well that the public should know this.

W. E. CASTLE, PROFESSOR OF ANIMAL GENETICS,
HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

I think that the portion of the mental apparatus which accepts such evidence as supernatural simply exhibits a subnormal development. I suppose we all have such undeveloped spots, if we only knew it. Habitual acceptance of such evidence would merely bring into prominence what already exists in the particular individual.

W. H. DALL, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON.

IV. AS TO THE RELATIONS OF SCIENCE AND PSYCHICAL RESEARCH

Engaged, then, with the obscure inter-actions of mechanical forces, such minds [physicists with a supernatural trend], once disengaged from the anchorage of sound balance, easily slip into the vagaries of superphysics. No other class of scientific men is so susceptible to this expression of decline, and it is well to note that men of science whose lives have been engaged in the study of evolution and composition of life in its various manifestations are not prone to indulge themselves in these dreams of the declining years.

JOHN M. CLARKE, DIRECTOR STATE MUSEUM,
ALBANY, N. Y.

I am a devout theist, and at least some of the time I believe that there is a life beyond this life, but the two ideas are not necessarily conjoined. I can be a devout theist (probably I would be classed as a pantheist) without believing that there is a life beyond this one. I might add that if one-tenth the amount of energy that is spent in futile search for evidences regarding the life to come were spent in making this life what it ought to be for ourselves and our fellows, this world would become a heaven and there would be no need of any other, because all the good influences would go forward to be continually increased. That is, I think the wrong thing is stressed. I do not see why if there is any life to come, there might not be scientific discoveries made, proving it, which would be of positive importance to the human race. However, I cannot believe that Sir Oliver Lodge has made any. It is a little curious to my mind that so many competent physicists have been so absurdly duped by various spiritualists.

What I believe, I take purely on faith. Science deals with verities, things that can be weighed and measured and verified; it does not deal in darkened rooms and hocus-pocus.

ERWIN SMITH, BUREAU OF PLANT INDUSTRY,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

In the interests of social sanity the public utterances of men of science should stress the facing of demonstrated fact, the insistence on empirical proof, rather than feature the phantasies of the neurotic, the symptoms of the hysteric, and the well-known clinical phenomena of dissociated make-up. All devices calculated to distract the

public from the obvious realities and inadequacies of the world of fact, and to substitute for the frank facing of these facts the tendency to autistic thinking and the flight into "other worlds" only encourage infantilism and regression.

H. L. HOLLINGSWORTH, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF
PSYCHOLOGY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

The present trend toward mysticism, spiritism, and the occult is directly due to the instability of mind produced by the world war. When the habits of thought slowly built up by years of looking at the world from certain definite points of view are quickly disintegrated through intense excitement or shifting of viewpoints, there is temporary instability and a return to the cause-and-effect sequences of primitive man; hence spiritism. . . . I believe the stable-minded psychologists should act as a body in opposition to this most pernicious development.

GEORGE S. SNODDY, PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY,
UNIVERSITY OF UTAH.

It is not scientific narrow-mindedness, but the conviction of the soundness and breadth and capacity of growth of the scientific method that makes me join the warning against unfounded and confusing propaganda of the residuals of passing superstition. The majority of organized churches and of the sober and systematic philosophical and scientific centers utterly repudiate these revivals of a slowly dying clinging to the "will to believe." There is no inclination to shirk investigation, but a demand that those claiming to be investigators acquire a reasonable familiarity, not only with physics and chemistry and physiology and biology, but also with the psychology of suggestion, deception, and self-deception.

ADOLF MEYER, PROFESSOR OF PSYCHIATRY, JOHNS
HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

I must confess to a lack of interest in Lodge's lecturing, as it seems, at least on the face of it, only a rehearsal in new forms of old and discredited material. I suppose I feel toward it much as a physiologist toward the fine details of a phrenological system or as an astronomer toward the latest advertised system of horoscopy.

J. F. DASHIELL, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY,
OBERLIN COLLEGE.

I have the strongest personal objection to the character of the lectures which Sir Oliver Lodge has been giving in this part of the country. I think he is doing harm, not only to science but to a large number of trusting people who have heard his lectures and who are inclined to accept his most unsettling doctrines in view of the fact that they are supposed to come from a man of science and thereby have some scientific background. . . . The only difficulty is that Sir Oliver Lodge's lectures make good newspaper copy, and so long as that is the case it will be difficult to stem the tide of his popularity.

HARVEY CUSHING, PROFESSOR OF SURGERY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

While these citations do not convey all the sorts and conditions of opinion, they carry the positive tone and quality of the preponderant view in its various phases and emphases. They make it plain that the trend toward a revival of belief in spirits and unrecognized forces is regarded as an undesirable citizen in the intellectual domain; that such conclusions claim a status to which their credentials do not admit them; that they are closely associated with outgrown and primitive habits of thinking, and in some instances bear the hall-marks of abnormality; that their encouragement delays and retards the purposes of education and the higher interests of sound thinking.

The impression must be removed that this attitude implies an opposition to the type of investigation which is proposed in the program of Psychical Research. While many believe that enough energy has been expended and sufficient sacrifices made to dismiss the case as closed, the more common view is that apart from their psychological interest the arguments advanced deserve a fair and serious treatment, if for no other reason, to allay popular unrest and correct prevalent misapprehension.

The issue has a larger significance than that attaching to the value of a body of evidence which in modern days has brought multitudes of converts to an ancient shrine. The integrity of the scientific conception is at stake. The notion pervading views of this (occult) order conceives behind and beyond the world revealed by science another realm in which established physical and mental laws do not apply. It assumes that rarely, under peculiar conditions, the chief of which is a receptive organism in the person of a susceptible medium, scattered rays from this other world will penetrate to our visible spectrum. It thus elevates the séance-room to the place of an ultra-laboratory, where alone the arcanæ of science are revealed. Still further: the revelation finds the highest significance of events resident in their personal bearing; the ordinary laws of nature are transcended by reason of the stress of human emotion.

William James, whose over-charitable sympathy with experiences thus interpreted subjected his views (and psychology in general) to an unfortunate misunderstanding, calls this attitude an abomination. It violates the fundamental decalogue of scientific principles. It violently and illogically transplants a set of phenomena to an environment

of an alien temper and a foreign purpose. The intellectual setting thus preferred as the promising one for the deliverance of supremely important revelations, bears unmistakable resemblance to the cruder functioning of primitive habits of mind. For these reasons their appeal to a well-trained twentieth-century intellect seems anomalous and in some instances carries the suspicion of abnormality.

The challenge of "Psychical Research" is not merely a matter of evidence; it is a matter of principle and procedure. In neither bearing is it tangential or remote. It questions the validity of the basal concepts of interpretation. If consistently applied, it would require the physicist to leave room in his equations expressing the laws of matter for the intervention of "psychic" forces; it would posit X-rays and clairvoyance as alternate methods of diagnosis. For it must not be forgotten that the responsible leaders of belief in spirit-agency claim for their phenomena the sanction of scientific proof. In such an amazing production as Professor Crawford's alleged demonstration of spirit mechanics, a photograph of the adolescent medium and of pressure balances and lines of force appear as equally evidential exhibits in the case.

For these cumulative reasons, the reaction of men of science to such menaces to their calling is naturally somewhat emphatic and determined. The temptation to reflect the irrelevance and assumption of the challenge in the vigor of the reply is intelligible. It is easy to misinterpret such emphasis as a dogmatic prejudice and an impatience with the disturbance of set habits of thought. It is equally easy to suggest that to refute statements of opinion by a collection of opinions is an appeal to the antiquated method of authority.

Surely if the attainment of an accredited position among the leaders of science carries any sanction, it means that such men conduct their intellectual operations by somewhat more rigid standards than obtains among the people in general, and even among educated but not technically trained persons.

To attach special weight to the conclusions of persons with special qualifications is in no sense a return to the argument of authority, but the inevitable and the common-sense practice in all issues affecting the guidance of conduct and belief. When the agreement is overwhelming, the verdict becomes decisive.

CLEVELAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

CLEVELAND is the seventh city of the United States in point of population. But it is deserving of far higher rating when measured by its contributions to the educational uplift of the country. Its methods and achievements are well worthy of study and emulation, not only by school boards directly charged with the education of future citizens, but also by "the man in the street." The record is indeed a notable one.

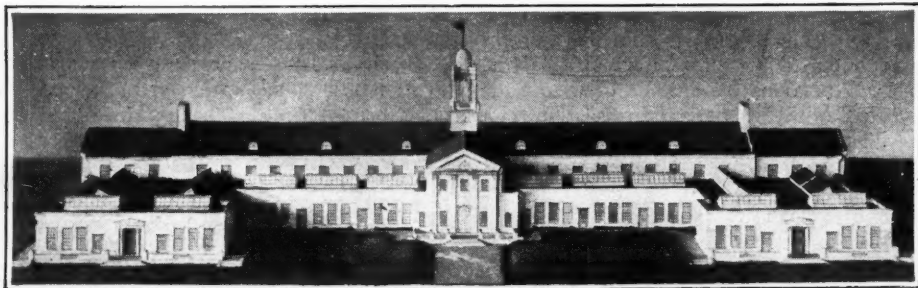
It will be recalled that it was the Cleveland Board of Education, a few years ago, which invoked the highest order of educational experts to survey its schools, report their findings, and recommend needed changes. The Cleveland Survey, so called, will not soon be forgotten. The results were published in several volumes, accessible not only to the people and authorities of that city but to the rest of the country as well.

Cleveland is to be congratulated on having on its Board of Education members who represent the best citizenship and intelligence of the city, having as their single purpose the greatest good to the greatest number of children. In too many of our cities, both large and small, school boards have often been regarded as stepping-stones for other political offices, to say nothing of opportunities for patronage and contracts that have not the welfare of public or pupil clearly in view.

Some three years ago the Board required the services of a new Superintendent of Schools. It made diligent inquiry among educational authorities, and chose the man most highly recommended—Dr. Frank E. Spaulding—offering him a salary far larger than that of any other school administrator. The Board then said to its new Superintendent, in effect: "We are charged by our constituents with the best service we can render the city's population of school age. We propose to justify the confidence implied in our election. We claim a fair degree of business knowledge and common sense, but we know no more of teaching as a profession than we do of law or medicine. That is to be your function and obligation."

Occupied with the main problem of educating the child, the Cleveland superintendent, on his part, has claimed no special part in directing a building program or in the business side of a school system. But he has jealously guarded his prerogatives in shaping courses of study and selecting subordinates. Such a division of responsibility minimizes friction, wasted energy, and the chance for political interference.

When Dr. Spaulding leaves his Cleveland post in September the Deputy Superintendent, R. G. Jones, will assume full charge by unanimous selection of the board.



A NEW TYPE OF ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL BUILDING IN CLEVELAND

(This is a one-story building of thirty class rooms, two large play rooms, and an auditorium—representing the latest development in economy of space. It is practically without corridors; the space usually given to corridors is turned into play-room space. The fire hazard is reduced to a minimum, as every class has a door leading directly out of doors. There is also another door leading into the building. There are both side and overhead lighting. With all these advantages the cost per pupil is from one-half to three-quarters as much, depending upon the way the building is used, as is the cost of the usual type of two- or three-story building)

DR. SPAULDING—EXPERT IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

BY CLYDE R. MILLER

As a nation, America is becoming vaguely aware that something is wrong with the schools.

"We are a nation of sixth-graders," says Dr. Frank Ellsworth Spaulding, superintendent of the Cleveland schools.

He has spent his professional life diagnosing educational systems and prescribing courses of treatment needed.

Yale University is aware that something is wrong with the public schools of America. As a university it has decided to help correct the wrong and has called Dr. Spaulding, who, starting in September, will head and organize a department of education in its graduate school.

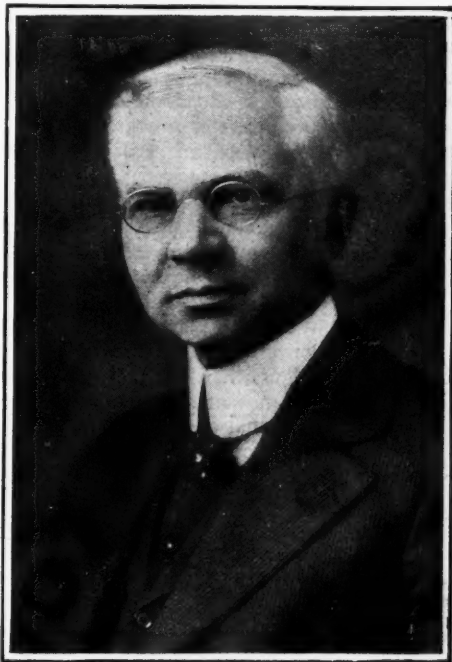
In its early history Yale recognized its obligation to society by educating preachers. Doubtless with the same sense of obligation, Yale is now beginning to educate teachers, or, to speak more exactly, leaders of teachers. Yale hopes that its new venture—a graduate school in education—will be a potent influence in bettering common-school and high-school education in America.

The public at large is not much concerned about the nation's educational shortcomings as disclosed in the selective-service army, though examination of 1,500,000 men in the National Army, conducted and recorded by army officers assigned to such duty, revealed that approximately 25 per cent. of these men were either quite illiterate or were illiterate in the sense that they were unable to read simple English intelligently.

A Crisis in Public Education

But the public is worried. Every community knows that the ablest teachers have been leaving the schools—forced by poor pay to seek more remunerative employment than school-teaching. Every community knows that the most desirable teacher material is not attracted to the public schools. Even considerable salary increases granted in the past year or two by progressive communities are as yet failing to attract candidates for teaching positions. The current year reveals

May—5



DR. FRANK E. SPAULDING

(Born in New Hampshire, 1866; graduated from Amherst, 1889; taught school in Louisville; studied abroad in French and German universities; superintendent of schools at Ware, Mass., Passaic, N. J., Newton, Mass., Minneapolis and Cleveland; organizer of educational facilities for soldiers; now called from Cleveland to Yale University to create a department of education in the graduate school)

a decrease of 25 per cent., on the average, in normal-school attendance.

Something is wrong and a salary increase alone won't cure it. The services of the ablest diagnostician and physician to be found are needed. The causes of illiteracy must be discovered and, through a correct educational system, must be destroyed. A thousand cooks are dabbling with the Americanization broth. It is a question if they are helping as much as they are hindering. Americanization, a task for the public schools, is not being undertaken, in any considerable way, by the schools.

Besides the millions of Americans who

are illiterates, there are many more millions whose schooling is sadly insufficient to their needs and to the welfare of the nation.

Local communities and the nation itself must be converted to an educational program that will wipe out illiteracy and give to all equality of opportunity to prepare for life's vocations and life's wholesome pleasures.

Yale Moves to Analyze and Correct

The authorities of Yale University, in common with thoughtful Americans everywhere, have accepted the fact that there is a real crisis in public education—a national crisis. They decided, some months ago, to establish at Yale a department of education and to secure as a head for this department the man who could best analyze the nation's educational needs and who, with the power and influence of a great university back of him, could help to fill these needs.

They selected Frank Ellsworth Spaulding, for the past three years superintendent of the public schools of Cleveland. It was easy for Yale to find the man for the place, for he had already been named by the great majority of educational authorities in the United States as the nation's leading mind in the field of public education. When Cleveland needed a school superintendent three years ago the school board asked every prominent educational authority in the country to name the men who, in their judgment, were best qualified for the position. Most of those thus canvassed named Dr. Spaulding as their first choice.

During the war the Federal Government had two educational tasks of prime importance to perform. One involved providing educational facilities for tens of thousands of children, the sons and daughters of workers who comprised the population of the mushroom towns that grew up about great munition and ship-building plants.

The other, entrusted for a time to the Y. M. C. A., was the task of reducing illiteracy in the overseas army and of setting up a general educational system in the American Expeditionary Forces so that a goodly portion of the time between the armistice and the embarkation for America might be utilized in the study and vocational training by those soldiers who chose to do so.

Frank Ellsworth Spaulding was called for both these tasks. A full year of his three years at Cleveland was spent in Government service, thanks to the generosity and broad vision of the Cleveland Board of Education.

A Leader in the Field of Education

Who is Dr. Spaulding? What has he done? What does he stand for in public education?

Dr. Spaulding is known through his works, rather than through his words. He is not an orator. His writings—and he is the author of several volumes that are accepted as classics in the educational world—are concrete accounts of educational undertakings and accomplishments.

While superintendent of schools at Passaic, N. J., and later at Newton, Mass., with the assistance of Miss Catherine T. Bryce, now assistant superintendent at Cleveland in charge of elementary instruction, Dr. Spaulding developed methods of teaching reading and language which caused earnest and inquiring teachers in all sections of the country to marvel at the unprecedented results attained. With Miss Bryce as a co-author, he has written readers and language books, based on the teaching methods thus developed. These books, setting a new professional standard, now used throughout America, have virtually revolutionized the teaching of reading and language.

As his school text-books are founded on practical experience, so also are all of his many contributions to the literature dealing with educational policies and administration.

Nearly all of these contributions are in the form of reports which he submitted to various boards of education in cities he has served. Far from being dry statistical records, these superintendents' reports from the pen of Dr. Spaulding are interesting, vigorous analyses of educational problems, policies, and accomplishments. They are studied as text-books in nearly every American college which has a department of education.

A Progressive School Superintendent

For the past twenty-five years he has been a superintendent of schools, first at Ware, Mass., and then, successively, at Passaic, N. J.; Newton, Mass.; Minneapolis, and Cleveland.

In each one of these cities he ran the schools in keeping with the spirit of what he terms the fundamental law of public-school education: "The schools are for the children."

To make the schools serve the selfish purposes of any other class of persons is to prostitute them. No cranky school-board member, no self-seeking politician, no disgruntled teacher or clique of teachers can

make Dr. Spaulding break the fundamental law of education—the schools are for the children.

He was a pioneer in the growing movement to capitalize the experience of teachers in school administration. He was directly responsible for the creation in Minneapolis and Cleveland of educational councils by which the teachers in the public schools of those cities bear part of the responsibility of shaping policies and through which they participate in school affairs.

A clearing-house for teachers' suggestions, recommendations, and criticisms, the educational council, as developed by Dr. Spaulding, is proving to be a potent influence in the nation's most progressive school systems. Largely as a result of his encouragement, such a council has been formed in the public schools of Boston.

What Dr. Spaulding Did for Cleveland

It is interesting to know Dr. Spaulding as the people of Cleveland know him. Most of them, as is natural in a city of nearly a million souls, know him only through the newspapers. To the majority of the fathers, mothers, aunts, and uncles of the 115,000 Cleveland schoolchildren, School Superintendent Spaulding is a force, a power, a dominating idea or spirit.

They read in the city's newspapers that the superintendent wants the scope of the public-school system widened to permit part-time classes for persons now past school age who might like to return to school to fit themselves for more productive and more remunerative vocations. The papers tell of the school board's acceptance of the idea. Soon afterward there are "feature" articles relating how factory lathe operators are going to technical high school after their working hours to become skilled mechanics; telling how a mother, denied education in her youth, has become a classmate of her little girl in the sixth grade.

The people of Cleveland know that since Dr. Spaulding came to their city education has been extended to pupils of all ages and that anybody who is qualified by native or acquired ability to pursue a study may register as a student and pursue it.

A keen reporter gives his paper a front-page story—Dr. Spaulding's belief that military training must become a part of the educational program for the boys in the city's high schools. To-day thousands of Cleveland high-school boys wear the khaki

uniform and drill under the direction of United States Army officers.

In an address before the Cleveland City Club, the school superintendent declares that the schools have been far too ineffective in the matter of helping boys and girls find out what they want to do in life and of training them to do it. The junior high-school system, now comprising more than a dozen junior high schools, in which special stress is placed on vocational direction, is greatly broadened thereafter.

A Prophet Who Works with Facts

A force, a power, a dominating idea or spirit which is working in and with the public schools for the benefit of the children and of grown-ups, too—that is Dr. Spaulding as he is seen by the people through the Cleveland newspapers and through the stories which pupils and teachers bring home from the schoolroom.

He presents another picture to those who know him more intimately. To such, too, he is a force, a power, a sort of educational seer and prophet. But he has not a prophet's austerity.

Small in stature, gentle of manner, his hair turned silver-white, his blue eyes smiling behind gold-rimmed spectacles—that is the Dr. Spaulding you see at the superintendent's desk.

But watch him at work. The figure changes. He is a scientist, cold, deliberate, exact, making sure of the facts. He is an organizer, creating and leading an educational army to change facts of ignorance, facts of lack of opportunity, to facts of knowledge and opportunity.

He is a diagnostician. He works on facts.

About the first thing Dr. Spaulding did after he was elected to the Cleveland superintendency was to study the survey of the Cleveland schools. This was undertaken a few years before, at the instance of the Cleveland School Board, by a group of the outstanding education authorities.

Then, as superintendent, he caused intensive development of a department of reference and research to discover and tabulate just what the schools were accomplishing, and—what they were not accomplishing.

Facts, facts, facts—assorted, tabulated, and digested—upon such a basis he has drastically changed the city school system of Cleveland and of other places; upon such a basis he has made public assertions concerning education that, though they sometimes

seem to smack of the sensational, cannot but be accepted as correct by those who also know the facts.

An Average of Only Six Years' Schooling!

Sharing with Dr. John Erskine, of Columbia University, and President Kenyon L. Butterfield, of the Massachusetts State Agricultural College, the responsibility of creating and administering the army school system set up by the Educational Corps of the A. E. F., he viewed the overseas army as a cross-section wherein were to be seen the educational advantages and shortcomings of America.

The Educational Corps, by the way, accepting the word of the officer who commanded it, Brigadier-General R. I. Rees, boasts, as one of its accomplishments, the teaching of 50,000 illiterate soldiers how to read and write the English language.

From the cross-section afforded by the army, Dr. Spaulding turned to the Federal census reports and applied to these the principle of the higher criticism.

He said: "We are a nation of sixth-graders." He produced the facts to prove that Americans average six years of schooling; that, while millions finish grammar school and others complete high-school and college courses, an equally large number have virtually no schooling at all.

"We have long deceived ourselves with words and phrases about 'free, public, and universal education,'" he has pointed out in his recommendations for a national educational system for America, written in France, following his educational experiences with the overseas army.

"Up to the present time we have barely the beginnings, here and there, of an effective educational system."

The conviction that education is a national problem, to be handled in a national way, has been forced upon Dr. Spaulding.

This conviction he will carry with him to Yale University. His task there will be to train educational executives, leaders.

Essentials of an Improved Educational System

A national system of education is coming, Dr. Spaulding thinks—a system that will strive to attain three great objectives. As he states them, these are: first, essential elementary knowledge, training and discipline for every American; second, occupational efficiency; third, civic responsibility.

Most certainly, he points out, these objectives are not now attained.

"We are no more prepared for the great emergencies of peace that confront us," he says, "than we were prepared for the emergencies of war. Education, hasty and hectic, was our chief resource in preparing for war. Now education, deliberate, intensive and sustained, must be our basic resource in preparing for peace."

Dr. Spaulding starts in at Yale in September to organize the department of education in the graduate school.

"It is a real opportunity," he declares, "to have a part in the professional preparation of hundreds of those who will immediately determine the educational policies, ideals and plans of procedure throughout the country in the next generation."

Spaulding policies, tried and proven in Cleveland, Minneapolis, Newton, and other cities where he has been superintendent, undoubtedly will influence and, to a great degree, determine the ideals which will characterize those who are trained at Yale to be public school executives.

These policies include: definitely locating and assigning authority in a public-school system, relieving the formality and conservatism of teaching methods; appointing principals and teachers on a basis of merit rather than of service; employment of married teachers at regular salaries; special supervisors for kindergartens; psychological clinics for diagnosis of children thought to be mentally deficient and assignment of such children to special classes; intensive medical inspection; education for pupils of all ages; thorough physical training for boys and girls; courses in the household arts for girls; a bureau of reference and research in connection with every large school system; educational councils through which teachers may share and contribute to the responsibility of shaping school policies; higher standards of education and professional training for teachers and executives; salaries commensurate with the service required.

In going to Yale Dr. Spaulding is returning to his native New England. Born in New Hampshire in 1866, his early education was in the little red schoolhouse the shortcomings of which still retard education in America. He graduated from Amherst and taught school for a year or two in Louisville, Ky. Then to Leipsic, Berlin, the Sorbonne and other centers of learning in Europe for psychology, philosophy and pedagogy.



THE "ROCKEFELLER TEAM" OF BUSINESS MEN AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS WHICH HAS JUST MADE A TOUR OF THE PRINCIPAL CITIES TO PRESENT THE INTERCHURCH PROGRAM

(Left to right: William H. Foulkes, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., James M. Speers, Wilton Merle Smith, S. Earl Taylor)

CAN THE CHURCHES WORK TOGETHER?

BY LYMAN P. POWELL

AMERICA entered the war to save the world from Prussianism. When her work seemed done, it was not done. Peace has brought disappointment, disillusionment, in vast regions actual despair.

We may be worse off to-day than when we were at war. The aftermath of war makes war itself in retrospect look fair. Peace has released colossal forces war locked up. Some may be constructive; we hope so. Many of them now appear destructive. On the aching heads of those who thought they saw in the world war the glory of the coming of the Lord the hammers of destiny seem to be beating out a new planet. Men's hearts are failing them for fear. From their hoarse and husky throats goes up the awful cry, "How long, O Lord, how long!"

The gates of hell seem for the moment to prevail against all good. The Church bows her head before the storm that sweeps in cruel harshness over her. Can the church survive the storm? Can she create in the world that new moral passion for the true,

the beautiful, the good, which Herbert Hoover thinks the church alone has power to create? Can she touch the brows of millions in woe and wretchedness, in want and rags, in hunger and nakedness, and bring them to their feet in a new faith and hope and love with her ancient cry of confidence: "Arise, shine: for the light is come and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee?" Can she move out of a fractional faith, a fragmentary Christianity, a denominational separatism, and bidding all her unrelated denominations strike glad hands in comradeship, in truth place upon the lips of all Christians, no matter what their individual differences, the glorious battle cry:

"Like a mighty army
Moves the Church of God?"

Before your eyes I unroll the world map torn and tattered by the ravages of evil-minded men. The world has 1,640,000,000 people, of whom one billion are not Christians. Asia with almost a billion folk has



THE CABINET OF THE INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT, IN SESSION

(From left to right: R. E. Diffendorfer, Lyman H. Pierce, Mrs. Grace G. Farmer, Daniel E. Poling, George M. Fowles, J. Campbell White, S. Earl Taylor, William H. Foulkes, Abram E. Cory, John H. Williams, Tyler Dennett, William E. Dougherty)

only a few millions even nominally Christian. Africa's 120 millions are mostly Mohammedan, and for every 33 natives who turn Christian 100 become Mohammedans committed to the extinction by the sword of all who do not cry, "There is no God but Allah, and Mahomet is his prophet."

America is still a cosmic melting pot. There are more Italians in New York City than in Rome, more Jews than in Jerusalem, and of Poles alone three to four millions in our country. The Christian Church has faced its problem of carrying the good news to the countless millions of the world, and the many millions of America, with a divided policy discarded in business, politics and war. How can it succeed in the most important of all interests of human life? Said a cultivated Hindu to me on one of the many journeys far and near: "When the Moslem comes to us we understand his message. It is always one. When the Buddhist calls us to the bo-tree we know where to go. When the Presbyterian preaches he proclaims one message, the Episcopalian another, the Methodist another, the Baptist another. How can we understand? Why don't you all preach the same message? Is there no common Christianity?"

Only now, with the survey of the Inter-church World Movement making headway, are we beginning to understand the feebleness and the futility of the Christian task, divided as we are into more than a hundred folds, not including the "Holy Rollers." And the silly process of division foolishly goes on. In one city "The Church of Christ" was not long ago established. Then some of the flock seceded and "The True Church of Christ" was set up. In a year or two some

"holier than thou" came out of the new body and built up "The Only True Church of Christ." And since I have had no news within a week or two there may be yet another effort to improve on what has gone before.

What is the matter with us after all? A visitor in a certain town which had four churches and adequately supported none, asked a pillar of one poor dying church: "How's your church getting on?" "Not very well," was the reply, "but, thank the Lord, the others are not doing any better." In another town, an inquirer tried to find out what the difference was between the two ill-nourished churches and a member earnestly replied that he really did not know, but he knew the difference was very important; while in another town where there were several churches, none able to hold a service every Sunday, to the suggestion of some sort of coöperation that would ensure a resident pastor for all, a zealous member of one church replied, "Not while I have breath in my body." In a village of perhaps a hundred people, where a holy war broke out among the saints, a new church was established. The fight appeared to be a draw between the old church and the new until one meek and lowly Christian surreptitiously carried off the organ blower and the pendulum of advantage swung for awhile across the street. Then after a few years the two whose differences started the church row forgot what it was all about and one church went out of business while the other church resumed but a small measure of its old activity.

It would seem a screaming farce but for the lost opportunity to make America a bet-

ter land in which to live, but for the hopelessness many good men outside the church feel as to the stupidity and poor business sense of the Christian churches which from the everyday point of view have the best "selling" proposition in the world if they would but come together in some kind of coöperation without the sacrifice of those honorable differences of opinion out of which many denominations have developed.

The Interchurch is not a church at all. It is nothing but a medium connecting many churches and societies and endeavoring to promote among them all a spirit of work-together without weakening their strength or impairing their spiritual integrity. Its first purpose is to collect all essential facts and lay them on the table for all Christians to see. Such a world-wide survey as the Interchurch is making has never been attempted hitherto, inside the church or out. The very conception is staggering. To some it seems impossible. But the Interchurch has no interest in the merely possible. That it leaves to others.

Anyone can do the possible. It seeks for what never was found and is finding what it seeks. The mass of facts the surveys bring to light is piling each week higher. They are significant. They are fascinating. They are—in some cases—actually bewildering. No one ever dreamed that they could be. But they are what they are.

Do you know that we have found one village of 88 people with five churches? One mountain county of 5000 people with 135 churches? One State in which there is not a single church in ten counties with a population of 50,000?

Do you know that one county in a certain big State outranks all other counties in the State in the large number of the churches in its borders and also outranks all other counties in the State in its high percentage of illiteracy, illegitimacy and tuberculosis? The

failure of the church, you say. Oh, no! The explanation is that no church in that county has a resident pastor. There is no one to go in and out among the people, to point the way to better things and lead the way himself. It is simply a case of religious "absenteeism."

Do not dare imagine that this is no concern of any but the special churches involved. Churches represent in the aggregate enormous sums of untaxed property, of capital locked up and given special privilege. The people of the United States have a right to demand of all such property that at least it yield a valuable moral return to the State. Else why should it be exempt from all taxation? Meditate on these things recently discovered by our rural survey in a certain Eastern district:



DR. S. EARL TAYLOR
(The directing spirit of the Interchurch World Movement)

(1) Nine church buildings, but no regular minister in many years.

(2) A Methodist Church, but no service in three years.

(3) A Christian Church, without a communion service in six years.

(4) A Presbyterian and a Methodist Church, without organization, congregation, or worship.

(5) In a nearby State a sparsely settled section of 3000 people with thirty-seven churches and half of them boarded up and idle.

(6) In a Western State one town of 4000 people and not a single church, while a town not far away with a population of 1600 has fourteen Protestant churches ranging in membership from 125 down to five.

(7) One Western State has 175 churches of one denomination without a single pastor.

Is it right for the nation or the State to allow so much property which is untaxed, permanently to go unused? What is the logic slowly evolving from the situation? What will the people whose taxation is heavier because of such exemption ultimately say? How long will the right-minded, regardless of denomination, allow such things to be?

Let us take an actual instance.

Do you know that roughly speaking one-

tenth of the adult life of the United States probably lies within a half-hour's ride of Times Square in New York City?

Do you know that within a radius of half a mile of Times Square there is a transient population of 1,500,000 a year and that 1,000,000 people go to theaters and moving-picture shows each week, while by actual count on a recent Sunday evening only 1817 people attended the less than a score of churches in that region?

Do you know that in these days of the high cost of living the average salary of ministers in most of our States is less than \$1000; in 18 States less than \$700 a year, while the milkmen of a certain city average \$1850 a year and skilled operatives in a certain industry are said to receive almost as much in a single month as the average minister in a year?

Do you know, not merely that the annual per capita Protestant contribution to ministerial support has increased in forty years only from \$4.25 to \$5.30, while the per capita wealth of the nation rose from \$870 to \$2404; but that also one minister receiving far less than a living wage had the estimated value of the

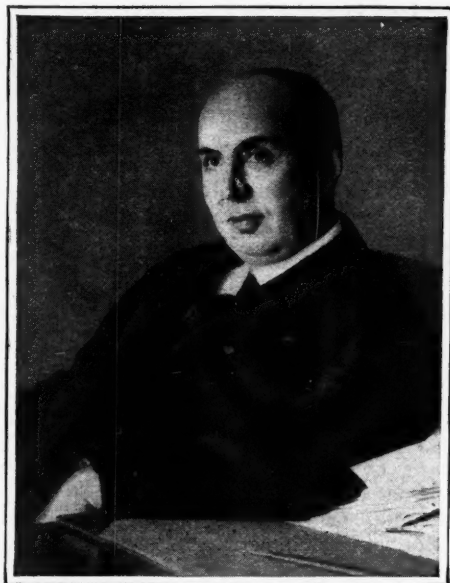
donation his good people gave to help him out, deducted by his official board from the cash payment of his salary?

Do you think the Christian Church is dying in the face of such representative facts the Interchurch Survey is unearthing? You would better think again. The church exists to cultivate the spiritual sense of men, and John Leitch remarked the other day that



MR. W. E. DOUGHTY
(Director of the Spiritual Resources Department)

the spiritual sense is as essential to well-being as the brain and lungs: The church has the best credit at the banks of perhaps any human institution. Men do not go deep into their pocket for a cause they think is failing. What do you think of this? One denomination alone last year raised for its forward program \$168,000,000. Eighteen others are now well along toward a total



DR. A. E. CORY
(Field marshal of the world-wide interchurch conferences)

budget of \$325,371,593. The Interchurch Movement has planned a budget, covering five years, of \$1,320,214,551, and a group of leading financiers pronounce it not extravagant. During the current year the plan is to raise \$336,777,572.

This clearing-house for churches, called the Interchurch, is in a large sense not unlike the Stock Exchange in the financial world. It is first gathering facts, next aiding churches to achieve their highest end, and finally helping to ingather life and money and dedicate the same to the religious uses of the churches. It would release all the hidden spiritual energies of the whole world.

It exists—as Mr. Rockefeller says—to carry out the will of churches. But it is no lifeless thing. It is as organic as it is colossal. It creates public opinion by laying the world facts of religion, morality and education before the denominations it represents, bids them take off the blinders of the past, and see the task before the churches in its cosmic sweep. Waste and amputation will wither before common knowledge. Constructiveness in missionary work in industrial relations in hospitals, schools, and colleges will take the place of the haphazard. Preachers and teachers are to have in consequence a living wage and old-age pensions.

THE PUBLIC FORUM

BY ALBERT SHAW

PEOPLE of sane minds demand stability and order, and people of fatigued minds seek repose and settled equilibrium. At times the variety and the swift movement of public events, as reflected in the newspaper headlines, minister to a certain love of surprise and excitement. But when the wind seems to blow from all quarters at once, and the dust of the streets fills the eyes and chokes the air passages, most people wish for less stir and realize the advantages of calm weather. We may hope for a little less social confusion and turbulence than that which prevails in 1920; but there will come no dead standstill for the comfort of the weary, and it is better therefore to get used to the quickened pace and to abandon vain regrets for a tranquillity that can never return.

There remains no country in the world that is stable and quiet. Political and economic society is astir everywhere. Democracy of some sort has asserted itself in every land, and the problem of making democracy function in a safe, useful and orderly way is more pressing than the problem of eliminating autocracy had been in any previous period.

In short, the business of training the democracy—even in our relatively well-trained country—is the world's great unsatisfied obligation. And it is a task that will rank first for decades yet to come.

What, then, are the agencies for educating a people and making a democracy best serve the ends of human welfare and of high civilization? Obviously the agencies are numerous, but certainly most conspicuous among them are home, school, church, press, and platform. All these instruments or aspects of American life are of vast importance. For example, it would be impossible to over-estimate the part now played by the press in making every citizen a conscious part of the democratic mass.

Comparisons in such cases are not very valuable; but, for what it is worth, we may quote the opinion of certain eminent authorities who have held that the newspapers are a more vital agency of popular education than all of the schools put together. There

is, of course, no reason for setting the two things in contrast, because the one has a powerful effect upon the other, and they do not compete in the business of training and stimulating the popular intelligence.

The Function of Public Speaking

There is another agency, however, that has played a great part in the historical development of our American democracy, and that must be definitely maintained and further developed for the essential service it has yet to render. This agency is what may best be termed the Platform. The word platform has various meanings, but it has a special one defined in a foremost dictionary as "*figuratively, the function of public speaking, as that of lecturers or political speakers.*" The right of assembly and public discussion, like that of the freedom of the press, is part and parcel of the constitutional life of all English-speaking countries.

The platform as an institution has had its notable history in Great Britain, where it has long been recognized as a leading factor in the mechanism of political life, and of parliamentary and local government. It has often been said that England is governed by discussion; and the two established forms of discussion are the press and the platform, around both of which constitutional guarantees have been created.

In an earlier period, when the press was less developed and the common people did not derive much either of information or of opinion from the printed page, the pulpit as a special development of the platform had superior influence, not only in the sphere of religion and ethics, but also in that of politics and affairs. As an actual force and as a future means of service, it would be a mistake to undervalue the pulpit; although it is evident that its relative potency has declined because of the immense expansion of the press and the growth of the non-ecclesiastical platform.

There is, indeed, a marked tendency toward the revival of pulpit influence through the use of the churches on Sunday evenings and at other times as forums for

the discussion of matters that concern the welfare of the community. The clerical profession comprises a great body of men trained in public speech and devoted to the cause of social progress. One of the great objects of the present Interchurch World Movement is to increase the efficiency of the ministerial profession, and to enhance the usefulness of church property, by uniting the churches as an agency for community service, including the function of platform leadership.

The lecture as a mode of instruction is not declining, and it has gained in influence with the advent of that amazing new agency of instruction, the educational "film." In the field of politics, using the word broadly, the platform has been coexistent with the rise of modern democracy. It played a dominant part in the early period of American independence; and in every successive epoch or new phase of national life the platform orator and debater have been prominent. The issue of slavery was fought out more effectively upon the platform than upon the field of battle.

The temperance cause, culminating in the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, had been first of all a movement developed and sustained by platform effort. In like manner, the cause of woman suffrage, now approaching its final victory, has owed most of its practical success to the newly-discovered talent of women for persuasive and convincing platform speech. Organization, parade, printer's ink, various devices, have also been employed; but the platform has doubtless ranked first among the agencies that have promoted these current movements, which have as their motive the general advancement of society through the sacrifice of individual habit or prejudice.

An Auditorium in Every Community!

We have come to be a nation of town dwellers by a very rapid process of industrial evolution. Relatively speaking, the country districts seem neglected and lonesome. It is the more important, therefore, to sustain in the country districts the custom of assembly and public speech. Every rural neighborhood should have its auditorium associated with a consolidated school. The auditorium should be constantly used for instructive and entertaining lectures or political discussion, for promotion of improved agriculture and neighborhood life, for educational "movies", and for social gatherings promotive of the art of speaking.

But the cities also require places for assemblage. Town dwellers have as much reason to cultivate the habit of public discussion as have the country neighborhoods. The very conditions of life in rural districts constantly emphasize the need of coming together and talking about matters of public concern. In the crowded cities, where there is less recognized sense of need for public assemblies, the problem is even more pressing. The press sows, but the platform harvests.

In almost every State, the sentiment of a single city may turn the scale in an important election. City people indeed have the habit of reading newspapers; but they read rapidly, they are often misled by headlines, and they are apt to have their minds clogged with undigested information. They are the victims of surface impressions. Thus the people in towns and crowded industrial centers, even more than those in country places, need the kind of training in citizenship that the platform can give with special advantage.

It is marvelous how an audience made up of people who have read the papers, only to be confused and without convictions, or else to have gained prejudices without judgment, can be guided toward sound opinions by the frank and wise platform effort of a man or woman who speaks out of an abundance of knowledge and experience.

Labor Leaders as Trained Speakers

One of the most significant aspects of the trade-union movement has been its cultivation and use of the platform. Labor leaders in England and the United States are conspicuous among the people best trained in the art of public speech. A serious mistake hitherto made by the employers of labor and by representatives of an impartial public has been that they have not taken a sufficiently active part in the face-to-face discussion of industrial and social problems with the workers. They have left the field quite too clear, with the result that the wiser labor leaders are disadvantaged by certain men who have chosen to spread a propaganda of class antagonism.

A great change, seemingly, is coming about. Large industries, instead of discouraging their employees from association and assemblage and public discussion, are changing their policies, are providing attractive auditoriums, and are trying to get closer to the feelings and the real interests of the wage earners. Here, then, is a boundless field for the platform, and we are not likely



NEW YORK'S "TOWN MEETING HALL," NOW UNDER CONSTRUCTION

(A community institution designed primarily for public speaking and not for entertainments and concerts. Besides an auditorium seating 1700 persons—offered rent free when no admission is charged—provision is made for a civic organization, a political science library, and many other facilities for promoting by educational methods a finer citizenship and a better social order)

to underestimate the good results that may come from its extensive cultivation.

The Platform in a Political Campaign

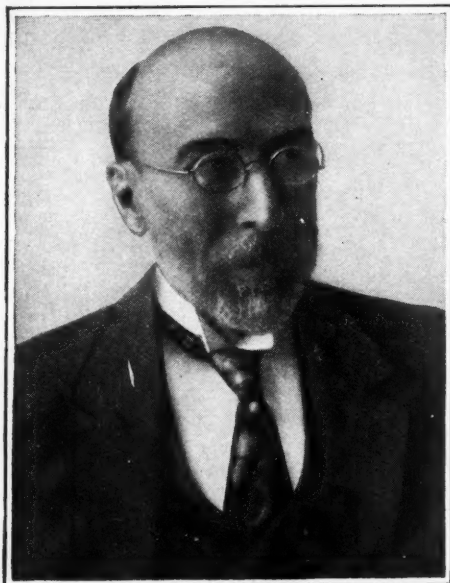
Americans are not wrong in regarding a presidential election as an affair of profound importance and an occasion for universal assemblage and discussion. While the seeking of office as a matter of purely selfish ambition is not to be praised, it is to be remembered that the highest offices demand a kind of training and experience which so fit men to bear public responsibility that those who possess them are likely to find themselves put in the position of being competitors for public honors. It is quite in accord with American tradition and method that the people should expect to see and hear the candidates, whether for the presidency or for some other high elective post. The primary system as adopted in many States has, in the very nature of the case, contributed to the larger

use of the platform as a political instrument.

It is due to such circumstances that General Wood and Governor Lowden, Senator Johnson and other recognized aspirants, have appeared on more platforms than was customary in the pre-convention canvasses of the period before presidential primaries were invented. But, under our American system, besides the candidates, we have a host of men who have been drawn into what we call "public life," and whose business and duty it is to appear on the platform or the stump and expound to audiences of citizens their views and convictions regarding current issues.

A "Town Hall" for New York

In a given city, it is possible to establish centers of instruction and influence through the power of public speech that may play a large part in the history of the community's advancement and well-being. Cooper Union



MR. ROBERT ERSKINE ELY

(Director of the League for Political Education, executive secretary of the Economic Club of New York, and director of the Civic Forum)

has made for itself such a record in New York. Single addresses, like Lincoln's Cooper Union speech, stand out boldly; but there have literally been thousands of speeches in Cooper Union that have served to form public opinion and shape the trend of municipal, economic, and political movements. Besides the occasional use of that famous hall, there is the constant educational use of it under the wise guidance of the People's Institute.

Carnegie Hall, built primarily for large musical gatherings, has also for many years past been a center of public discussion. Famous men on critical occasions have helped to shape events through utterances made in Carnegie Hall. The Madison Square Garden is much larger, and not many voices can carry to the thousands who are assembled there on special occasions. Nevertheless, some stupendous mass meetings have been held in that great room, with results that have swayed the community.

New York is now to have a new forum for the constant discussion of public affairs, which is likely to be known as the Town Hall. It is under construction in Forty-third Street in the region of hotels, theaters, and clubs, about midway between Times Square and the Grand Central Station. For many years the women of New York and vicinity have maintained a society known as

the League for Political Education. It has finished its first quarter-century. Its object is stated so felicitously that its own words should be quoted rather than paraphrased:

The League aims to promote good citizenship, social justice and general intelligence through the education and expression of public opinion mainly by means of lectures and addresses. Public questions are discussed with due regard to the different points of view. The League is non-partisan and non-sectarian.

Several thousand women belong to this society, and they have in these past years had the benefit of lectures and discussions, not merely occasional and haphazard in nature, but well planned for producing educational results.

An Efficient and Valuable Director

For many years the work of the League has been directed by Mr. Robert Erskine Ely, who has made himself one of the foremost educational and social leaders of the great metropolis. Mr. Ely's fitness for work of this kind had been demonstrated through a period of years in Boston and Cambridge before he was induced to go to New York. Meanwhile Mr. Ely has had the credit of founding and leading another organization in New York that has had a career of unflagging success, namely, the Economic Club. This is a body of business and professional men who meet about half a dozen times every season in a large hotel ballroom, where an early dinner is followed by a serious discussion of some problem of moment to the nation. As the name of the club implies, the topics presented are more generally related to the politico-economic structure of society in some phase or aspect. The average attendance at these dinners well exceeds a thousand men.

The officers and committees of the Economic Club are influential citizens who seek to provide solid and serious discussion rather than entertainment. The club sometimes brings public men for their first introduction to a New York audience. Thus the good relationships of Mr. Carter Glass with the banking world during his recent experience as Secretary of the Treasury were in no small part due to a speech made by him several years ago, when the Federal Reserve bill was pending, and when he was Chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency. The Economic Club, with its large membership of bankers and financiers, favored the plan of a central bank

rather than that of the present Federal Reserve system. Quite apart from his arguments, Mr. Glass won the personal confidence and good will of the body of New York business men by the ability, the sincerity, and the patriotism of his speech in reply to the critics of the bill who had preceded him.

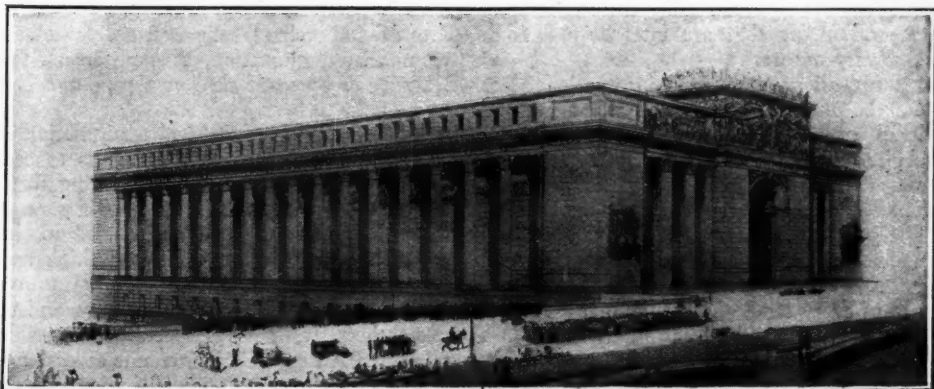
This is merely an illustration of the way in which a public forum of this kind, whether in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, or elsewhere, may serve the country by establishing personal relations between men who are in positions of authority and bodies of citizens whose sentiments ought if possible to be brought into accord with lines of political or business policy.

Mr. Ely's directorship of the women's League for Political Education and the men's Economic Club has been so efficient and valuable that he has found hearty support in the plans that have taken form, under his eye, for a building that shall furnish a home for these two societies while also serving other useful ends and objects. A working civic library is to be one of the adjuncts of the new establishment; and the auditorium, which is not to be too large but which is to seat comfortably something less than two thousand people, is to be made available for all legitimate uses of platform discussion that are consistent with the main objects of men and women who seek the best welfare of the people of New York.

Not only is the function of the platform a valuable element in our national and local ordering of public affairs, but it is destined to meet in a helpful way some of the new demands of a better international understanding. National isolation is futile hence,

forth, no matter how much it might be proclaimed. Art, music, literature, social justice, commerce, medicine, and sanitation—these are all considerations that do not bother much about political boundaries. The Civic Forum, also under Mr. Ely's direction, frequently brings to New York for a single address some European leader of distinction; and many of the lecturers before the League for Political Education have been notable personages in the British or European world of literature and science. It is possible to show full devotion to one's own country without fomenting disagreeable and false prejudice against the institutions or the people of other countries with whom we ought to be in friendly relationships.

The desire everywhere to create war memorials has now expressed itself in a great number of cities, towns, and villages in the form of plans for the erection of community buildings, which will contain auditoriums for public discussion together with other facilities for community service. Memorial structures of a notable architectural character are projected for Washington, D. C., Seattle, and other cities; and New York has an ambitious project that may be realized at some future time. Most significant, however, are the hundreds of community buildings that are now planned or actually in process of erection in smaller places throughout the land. The work of our great platform speakers of an earlier day, like Beecher and Phillips and Horace Mann—a work further developed by Bishop Vincent's Chautauqua movement—is destined to be carried on more extensively than ever before, as a vital factor in the training of Americans for intelligent self-government.



VICTORY HALL—A WAR MEMORIAL BUILDING PLANNED FOR THE PEOPLE OF NEW YORK



PALAIS DES ACADEMIES AT BRUSSELS, PLACE OF MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL UNION

AN INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF SCHOLARS

BY J. FRANKLIN JAMESON

(Director of the Department of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution)

STATESMEN and politicians will settle as they please, temporarily at any rate, the relations which shall subsist between nationalism and internationalism in the field of politics, but in the field of science and learning no one can define their mutual relations but scientists and scholars. Some scientific fields and problems are from their nature national. The leading part in studying the geology, natural history, linguistics, literature, and history of each country will, as a matter of course, be taken by the scientists and scholars of that country. But there are other tasks of learning and science that belong to the workers of all countries alike, that lend themselves readily to international coöperation, or that are international from their very nature.

Thus, all good work in international law must be pursued, partly at least, by international organization. No effective weather service, especially in a region of small countries, like Europe, can be obtained by means confined within the borders of one nation. The problems of oceanography, of terrestrial magnetism, of the study of earthquakes, call imperatively for the coöperation of scientific men of every land. No study of the Roman Empire based on the inscriptions found in a single country, or of medieval church history or modern diplomatic history based on one nation's records, or of the development

of any art founded on one nation's buildings or sculptures or music, could have any value. And even where international coöperation is not from the nature of the case indispensable there are few subjects the treatment of which will not be bettered by bringing into coöperation the learned men of various nations. So it is that, as we are accustomed to say, science and learning know no natural boundaries. Scholars and scientists of different countries constantly coöperate through private correspondence, often through exchange of published results, sometimes through discussion of common problems in international congresses. And some problems are so important or so pressing as to demand for their investigation a definite and permanent organization, through which the learning or scientific skill of many lands can be brought to bear.

The Great War furnished many examples of scientific problems so pressing as to call for the aid of every nation in solving them and solving them quickly, and so important to the very life of each nation and to the common cause that no one could think any course rational but to labor jointly, to regard the results as common property, and to make them available as speedily as possible to all the Allies. Therefore, the several national-research councils joined in forming an International Research Council. But a pro-

cedure that makes for increased efficiency in time of war is too good an acquisition to be dropped when peace comes, and now the International Research Council has been made a permanent organization, in which the scientific academies or national-research councils of the Allies and the neutral nations are alike represented by delegates, and which, by semi-annual meetings and by international committees working all the year around, will address itself to those numerous scientific problems and undertakings that can better be advanced by combined international endeavor than by the efforts of any single academy or country working alone.

But what is true of so many scientific tasks is not less true of many problems and undertakings in the field of those studies we call the humanities—history, political economy, political and social science, philosophy, archeology, and the whole range of philology. Never did war or other crisis show more clearly than this recent war has done the need of deeper knowledge of human studies, and the importance of pursuing them in a broad and cosmopolitan spirit. It was natural, therefore, that the two academies in Paris that represent such studies, the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres and the Academy of the Moral and Political Sciences, proposed to the other humanistic academies of Europe, or to the humanistic sections of the general academies, a similar union of forces, and the formation of an international organization which should secure, to these studies also, the benefits of coöperation and mutual consultation. There was immediate response, and in May, 1919, the International Union of Academies (Union Académique Internationale, "UAI") was formed.

The first meeting was held in Paris, but the regular place of meeting of this international council of scholars, as well as of the International Research Council, is to be Brussels. So, if the Belgian capital could not have its wish in being made the capital of the League of Nations, it will at least be an international capital of savants. Both of the organizations named, the International Research Council and the "UAI," will have their quarters in the stately building, formerly belonging to the Prince of Orange, which figures at the head of this article, the Palais des Académies, a building of which the principal tenant is the Royal Academy of Belgium.

A second meeting of the International

Union of Academies was held at Brussels last October, and a third is to be held in May. Already the Union is a "going concern," with representation (two delegates apiece) from the chief humanistic academies (or humanistic sections of the general academies) of France, Great Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Italy, Greece, Poland, Russia, and Japan, and with Spain, Rumania, Portugal, Poland, Finland, and Czechoslovakia soon to join. A distinguished French scholar is the president; the secretaryship falls naturally to Belgium.

But the United States has no such academy representing comprehensively in the field of learning what the National Academy of Science so abundantly represents in the field of American scientific knowledge; and yet everyone would wish that America should have her part, and do her part, in any international organization for the advancement of knowledge. But the purposes which in a European nation are subserved by a learned academy are in this country met by a set of separate national societies, each one of which cares for one of the studies embraced in the humanistic group. Accordingly, upon the initiative of the then secretary of the American Historical Association, Mr. Waldo G. Leland, representatives of these societies of specialists met at Boston last September and framed a constitution for a loose federation, having as its central organ a body to be called the American Council of Learned Societies Devoted to Humanistic Studies, or, for short, the American Council of Learned Societies. This body will select and instruct America's two delegates to the meetings of the Union Académique Internationale, and will in other ways look out for the interests and the participation of the United States in all international enterprises in history or archeology or philology or the like.

Eleven of our national societies of specialists have now entered this combination and are represented (by two members each) in the American Council of Learned Societies, which has its headquarters under the hospitable roof of the American Institute for International Education, near Columbia University.

The good services to historical or archeological or philological science which may be performed by an International Union of Academies, or which America may help forward through the American Council of Learned Societies, are too numerous to be here described.

CANADA'S PARLIAMENTARY PROBLEMS IN 1920

BY SIR PATRICK THOMAS McGRATH

(Member of the Legislative Council of Newfoundland)

CANADA'S governmental activities this spring—and perhaps for a longer period—are being conducted under conditions somewhat analogous to those under which the business of the United States was carried on during the period of President Wilson's disability. The Canadian Premier, Sir Robert Borden, has been ill for several months—not physically incapacitated, like President Wilson, but so worn out from his war-time activities and the discords of Dominion politics that his physicians have forbidden his resumption of duty for an indefinite period. No "Lansing resignation" incident is expected, however, in Canada, because the British constitutional system provides for an Acting Premier who, while so functioning, enjoys all the prerogatives of his chief, and this post is now filled by Sir George Foster, the senior member of the Cabinet and the Minister of Trade and Commerce therein.

When Premier Borden's physicians enjoined indefinite rest for him, he tendered resignation of his political leadership. But in the present chaotic condition of Canadian politics his followers were unable, or unwilling, to choose a successor; and the compromise was adopted of his taking prolonged leave of absence and the Ministry "carrying on" meanwhile under a "Deputy," eschewing large constructive or controversial measures as far as possible during his absence.

The Coalition Government Unpopular

The reason is that his present government is a Coalition one, composed of Conservatives—his original party—and "win-the-war" Liberals, who, in the critical period of the late conflict, joined him to enact and enforce conscription when the "Laurier" Liberals resisted that policy. In the resulting election the country split almost altogether on racial lines, the English-speaking provinces supporting Borden and Quebec standing by Laurier. But now, the war being over, the centripetal impulse which its necessities ap-

plied has been replaced by the centrifugal impulses of domestic politics.

The after-war unrest which is discrediting governments elsewhere is rife in Canada also. Liberals within and without the Administration who backed it at the polls are chafing under the harness to-day, and while the Union Government's name was one to conjure with in its early existence there are now few so poor as to do it reverence, although as it may continue for three years without appealing to the country again, it might easily retrieve itself meanwhile. Still its prestige just now is so low that Cabinet vacancies cannot be filled because those whose acceptance of portfolios would involve their running in by-elections, following the British practice, realize that their defeat would almost inevitably ensue, not perhaps so much from the Liberals as at the hands of the "United Farmers," the newest political force in the Dominion, who have already captured the control of Ontario Province and whose growing political strength is causing the most serious concern to the stalwarts of the two old-line political organizations.

Rise of the "Farmers"

Under these conditions the annual session of the Federal Parliament for 1920 opened at Ottawa at the end of February with Sir George Foster as temporary leader of the government, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King heading the opposition, having been chosen for that post by a convention of the Liberal party shortly before; and the "cross benches" being occupied by a third party, numerically small, but potentially menacing, partly "Farmers" and partly "withdrawees" from the regular parties. This latter group is led by Hon. Thomas Crerar, president of the Grain Growers' Association of Western Canada, a powerful industrial force in that region for years, an equally formidable political factor from recent developments, and admittedly the creation of Mr. Crerar him-

self. He had been Minister of Agriculture in the Borden Cabinet from the formation of the Union Government till toward the end of last year, when he resigned on the ground that its fiscal policy was not sufficiently favorable to the agricultural interests of the country and ought to be modified, and it seems agreed that he will head the Farmers' cohorts at the next election, becoming Premier if they succeed, as in Ontario.

Demand for a New Party

The Speech from the Throne of the Governor-General (corresponding to the President's message at the opening of Congress, but differing in that it foreshadows the actual legislation which the government will introduce instead of embodying mere recommendations) did not outline any very important enactments, conformably with the understanding that only routine measures would be undertaken during Premier Borden's absence, and doubtless also because of the universal uncertainty as to what the future may bring forth.

The Liberals, as a tactical move, called for an appeal to the country on the ground that the results of various by-elections had shown that the government no longer possessed the confidence of the people; and while the resolution was defeated by a strict party vote, it elicited widespread suggestions from the press and from leading men unconnected with politics, for the formation of a new political party composed of the best elements in the existing ones, with an infusion of industrial and commercial elements, the plea being that Canada's post-war conditions were so radically different from her prewar status that the old-time political units were incapable of properly coping with them.

A New Franchise Law

What will come of this, if anything, none can tell, but meanwhile Parliament is proceeding with its work. Its chief measure is a new franchise law, one dictated partly by post-war conditions. For the last or "win-the-war" election a special enactment was put through, repealing all previous franchise statutes and providing drastic measures for wartime elections, such as the disfranchising of all naturalized citizens of enemy origin, on the one side, and the enfranchising of the female relatives of Canadian fighting men, on the other. This measure was justified by its advocates as necessary to ensure beyond all doubt Canada's adhesion to the

principle of conscription and the unflagging prosecution of the war; while it was denounced by its opponents as a case of "loading the dice" against them. No legislative measure enacted in Canada for many years provoked such unsparing criticism and the government repealed it last session and promised a new one this year.

This measure, as this is written, has not been worked out in detail, because of the government having undertaken to accept suggestions from all quarters for its improvement, but, broadly, it will provide for manhood suffrage, for modified woman suffrage, and for a voting qualification of twelve months' residence in the Dominion and two months' in the constituency. As originally drafted it prohibited naturalization and consequent voting rights for ten years to Germans, Austrians, Bulgarians or Turks, but a substantial volume of public opinion in Canada favors wiping the slate clean, burying the animosities of the past, and harmonizing all elements now in the country or likely to enter it later, for the common good. Which side will prevail it is too early to say, but probably some middle course will be taken, because census figures show that before the war there were roundly half a million residents of Canada of "enemy" birth or extraction.

Railroad Purchase

Another constructive measure of this session is one providing the requisite machinery for making effective the acquisition of the Grand Trunk and other railway lines. The shareholders of the G. T. R. in England, where most of the stock is held, recently ratified the agreement for this transfer after a rather stormy meeting, in which the Canadian government was roundly charged with applying "highwayman" methods to the settlement of this difficulty. Enactments resulting from this comprehensive railroading experiment by Canada may have to cover many phases of the subject, but are unlikely to prove very contentious, being only the inevitable consequences of a principle and policy already adopted.

Canada's Representation at Washington

Two further steps in Canada's evolution from the status of a colony to that of something approaching a nation are planned—the first being through the devising of some method whereby she may enjoy special representation at Washington apart from the

British Embassy, and the second through a similar process whereby she herself can amend her constitution instead of appealing to the British Parliament for such power from time to time as necessary.

Diplomatic and international usage requires that all negotiations between sovereign states must be through their accredited agents, and hence, in the past, when questions affecting Canada and America have arisen, the difficulty has been overcome by having the British Ambassador at Washington or a distinguished statesman from the motherland head a delegation otherwise composed of Canadians, and the fruits of their labors being validated by the Imperial Cabinet's approval. But of late years Canada has been claiming a better status than this. During the war she maintained a Trade Mission at Washington, which, while working through the British Embassy, was virtually independent, and now the project, to which the Imperial authorities are understood to raise no objection, is that in all matters purely Canadian, such as boundaries, waterways, tariffs, fisheries and similar questions, Canada's representatives will deal directly with the United States Government, but that where the issues are such as involve the larger imperial problems or affect other parts of the Empire the negotiations shall be conducted through the British Ambassador as heretofore.

Premier Borden and other Canadian leaders take a strong stand on this point as vitally important to Canada's future status, just as they did respecting Canada's right, first, to participate in negotiating the Peace Treaty; second, to sign it; third, to ratify it through the Ottawa Parliament, and, fourth, to enjoy representation in the League of Nations on an equality with, at least, the Central and South American Republics which in no way participated in the late war.

Amending Canada's Constitution

An imperial statute, officially known as "The British North America Act," passed at London in 1867 to enable the distinct and separate British Colonies now comprising "The Dominion of Canada" to form this Federation, is Canada's Charter or Constitution. As things now stand, this measure can only be amended by the same authority which created it, the Imperial Parliament. The procedure in cases when an amendment becomes necessary is for the two Houses at Ottawa to pass a concurrent resolution pray-

ing the Imperial Parliament to amend the "B. N. A. Act" as desired; and an enactment along these lines is then passed at London and becomes law on receiving the Sovereign's assent.

It is now advocated that in future the Canadian Parliament shall have power to make such changes itself with the consent of the several Provinces; but objection to the proposal is being manifested by elements in Quebec which profess to see in this scheme a device to deprive that province of the guarantee as to language and religion written into the compact whereby French Canada passed to the British Crown more than 150 years ago. While Quebec remains hostile this plan must fail, for the Imperial Parliament will never alter the present procedure lacking her acquiescence.

Naval Defense

A new naval measure is also projected, but its details are not yet worked out. Late in March the Hon. Charles Ballantyne, Canadian Minister of Marine (who also directs naval affairs), ordered the "scrapping" of the existing Canadian naval flotilla, consisting of two declassified British cruisers, one at Halifax for the Atlantic and one at Esquimaux for the Pacific, with various auxiliaries, yachts, trawlers, etc., procured during the war for coast defense. He explained that he did this to "clear the decks" for a new policy. Admiral Jellicoe had just completed a tour of the overseas Empire (except South Africa) to work out with the governments of Australia, New Zealand, and Canada plans for naval defense. His report suggested four alternatives for Canada, ranging in annual cost of upkeep from \$5,000,000 a year for a coast-defense, or purely local force, to one of \$25,000,000 for a naval arm proportioned to Britain's.

The presentation of this report to the Canadian Parliament provoked much bitter criticism, chiefly in the direction that the war being over and Germany powerless for evil, a Canadian navy was a waste of money; but a compromise is likely. The Imperial Government has offered Canada a free gift of effective British warcraft costing originally \$16,000,000, and Canada proposes to operate them, which will cost her \$2,500,000 a year, while as others are required in the future she will build them in her own shipyards and man them from the mercantile marine which she is now working in conjunction with her railways.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

IS AN ANGLO-AMERICAN FEDERATION POSSIBLE?

IN his article, entitled "An Anglo-American Entente," in the current number of the *Yale Review*, Professor George McLean Harper, of Princeton, argues for some form of union between the United States and the British Empire. He admits that there is no federal system now in existence which may serve as a precedent. He does not go so far as to claim that any form of combination with Great Britain as close as our own Federal Union would be practicable. The United States is not a mere confederation of sovereign States, but an indivisible nation, whose members are the different States, and "whose life, which is also their life, is organic."

As to the relation between the United Kingdom and the self-governing Dominions, Professor Harper admits that in so far as it consists in loyalty to the Crown it would be absurd to expect such a feeling to exist among Americans, while, on the other hand, the relation is too loose, because many obligations are taken for granted by the several parties to the British system, for which definite sanctions would have to be provided.

Yet in spite of the failure of example, Professor Harper is confident that England and America can find a way to unite if the will to do so is present. As a sphere of common interests and joint action, which would have to be delimited by mutual agreement, he suggests free trade within the system and an alliance, military, naval, and diplomatic, with which to face the rest of the world. Probably also there would have to be an agreement on certain principles of action, with reference to industrial problems, so that the conditions and rewards of labor should be as nearly as possible equal throughout the system. Another desirable feature would be a common monetary system. If a joint commission were empowered to deal with mat-

ters lying within the sphere of specified common interests, the sovereignty of neither party to the union would be impaired, nor would the autonomy of either be altered. This commission might meet alternately in Great Britain and America.

In such a federation, which in Professor Harper's view might in process of time become converted into a real federal state, it would be reasonable to expect the United States to become the predominant partner in the field of industry and commerce, although in all probability Great Britain would remain the intellectual center of the system.

Professor Harper enforces his plea for Anglo-American federation as a program of practical statesmanship by directing attention to one of the contingencies in European politics and economics resulting from the war. Assuming that the Bolsheviks will fail to reunite Russia, there will be a line of small and feeble nations adjoining the frontiers of eastern Germany from Switzerland to the Gulf of Finland. These countries, says Professor Harper, will form a field for German political and commercial penetration, and in a few years there may be developed a union of Central Europe which in area at least will be greater than the old combination between Germany and Austria. If a successful economic system could be maintained in connection with this union, it might quickly become powerful, and spread through Russia and Siberia to the Pacific and through the Balkans and possibly Italy to the Mediterranean. In that event, says Professor Harper, an Anglo-American union would become a necessity if we would maintain our political ideals and economic standards.

For a clear statement of the new position of Britain's self-governing Dominions, our readers are referred to the article by the Hon. N. W. Rowell, summarized on page 537.

THE ARMENIAN PATRIARCH ON THE FUTURE OF HIS COUNTRY

AN interview with the Armenian Patriarch, who is responsible for the spiritual welfare of all the Armenians in Turkey, appears in the current (April) number of the *Asiatic Review* (London).

Regarding the foreign relations of the Armenian state, the Patriarch seemed to take an optimistic view. He said that his people respected the desire of the Kurds for independence and hoped to reestablish with them the neighborly relationships of former times. He thought the Kurds had recently been subjected to "baneful external influences," from which they will now be freed. The Armenians are on the best of terms with the Persians and the Georgians.

As to the internal problems of the new state, the Patriarch said:

There will be no land question—that is one thing! The land is owned by the peasants, who are on excellent terms with the dwellers in the towns. There is no Bolshevism. Every village has its primary schools, and secondary education will be immediately taken in hand. Then the Republic of Erivan is organizing a university.

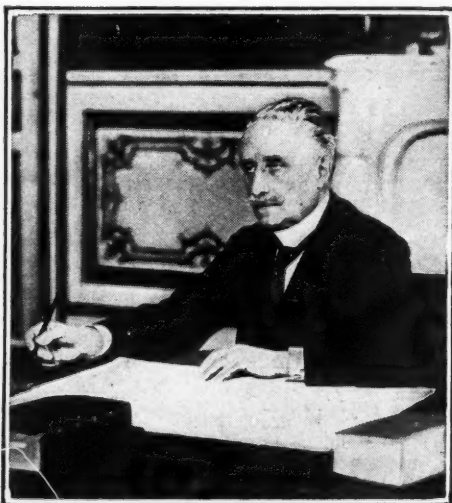
Besides there are mines—and here I should like you to say that European financial interests will be much more effectively safeguarded in an Armenian state than under the old régime. Can they not see that the civilized Armenian will have far more requirements under a settled government, and that concessions granted to Europeans will thereby become much more valuable.

This is the Patriarch's estimate of the present Armenian population:

Armenian Provinces.....	100,000
Cilicia	200,000
Constantinople	150,000
Smyrna	100,000
	550,000
Caucasus	300,000
Syria	100,000
Persia	20,000
Erivan	2,000,000
	2,420,000

Looking to the immediate future, the Patriarch voiced the prayer of his people for aid from more favored nations.

THE NEW PRESIDENT OF FRANCE



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PRESIDENT DESCHANEL AT HIS DESK

(The President of France is termed by M. Lauzanne "the prisoner of the Republic." His position is wholly different from that of the President of the United States)

SOME of the reasons why M. Paul Deschanel, in the balloting of the French Chamber, received the largest number of votes that a President of the Republic ever obtained are set forth by M. Stéphane Lauzanne, editor-in-chief of *Le Matin*, in the *North American Review* for April. Among M. Lauzanne's reasons for believing that the new President will render France useful service are the following:

His political life has been unified, upright, and successful. It depends entirely on two positions—the highest in the state—which he has occupied with equal ability and equal brilliancy: the presidency of the Commission of Foreign Affairs of the Chamber, and the presidency of the Chamber itself.

As president of the Commission of Foreign Affairs, he has always supported with unparalleled eloquence and warmth the traditional policy of France: *entente cordiale* with England, confident union with Italy, and enthusiastic affection for America. As for the Central Empires, he had his own doctrine: to detach Austria from the German alliance, to make the greatest efforts to keep the friendship of the Hapsburg empire in

order to balance it against that of the Hohenzollerns. He was among those who, in 1916, were of the opinion that the efforts of Prince Sixte de Bourbon merited encouragement. He was not among those who, in 1918, applauded when Austria-Hungary was broken up into a series of fragmentary states, all more or less opposed to each other, and threatening to fall bit by bit under the German hegemony, if ever that hegemony regain its brilliance and offer some advantage.

President of the Chamber of Deputies for more than twelve years, from his chair he has seen all the successive governments, all the political parties which have formed and which have disintegrated, all the laws which have been voted. What an accumulation of knowledge and experience for a man who becomes the first magis-

trate of state! Above all, he has shown three qualities: coolness, impartiality, and eloquence. And it happens that these three qualities are the most important—and the sole—required to be President of the Republic.

M. Lauzanne makes it clear that France has no fear of a strong and dictatorial President, because "the Parliament is there to reestablish the equilibrium of the balance and to enforce the will of the nation. What she asks of a President of the Republic, who is a prisoner of the Constitution for seven years, is that he be a well-informed adviser, a just arbiter, and the eloquent and respected representative of France."

THE DESPERATE STATE OF THE EUROPEAN EXCHANGES

AN editorial article in *The Round Table* (March), summarized by the London *Review of Reviews*, deals with the financial chaos that has made trade practically impossible throughout the greater part of Europe. The writer insists that it is imperative to secure some stability of currency conditions in all the disorganized countries. On the other hand he regards it as doubtful whether the time has yet come when any joint international scheme, which will almost certainly be necessary later on, can be undertaken.

A stable currency seems impossible for any country whose foreign trade still shows an enormous adverse balance, and whose budget makes no pretense of balancing its receipts and expenditure. To be able to maintain a sound currency a country must pay its way in the world. Therefore, from the point of view of currency, as of everything else, the productive process must first be set going again. Just as serious currency depreciation diminishes production, both industrial and agricultural, so a restoration or an increase of production is the only foundation for a return to sound currency, as indeed it is the foundation of taxation. We must deal first with the basic problem of restoring the cycle of production and exchange, though hand in hand should, of course, go an insistence on proper taxation, on the imperative necessity of the various governments balancing their budgets, and on some control over the too free creation of credit.

All the Central European countries are faced with apparently insuperable difficulties in the way of reconstruction. Even if they could resume their export trade, many of them have lost their foreign markets, and their over-seas trade has gone. Political

difficulties, and the hardening of racial differences which have been made the basis of political frontiers, have enormously increased the problem of rebuilding international trade. Capitalism, which would seem to be the only economic machinery capable of achieving a rapid reconstruction, is itself challenged by Labor in every country.

Great as have been abuses of the capitalistic system, it is doubtful whether any other system can free itself from the soulless and monotonous character of modern industrial life, which is at the bottom of nearly all the unrest, and more doubtful still whether it can produce wealth at the same rate. It is ominous, therefore, that at a time when greater saving and greater production are essential to our recuperation, the great mass of workers in all European countries, resenting bitterly the profiteering which inevitably arises from existing conditions, should be dimly contemplating the overthrow of our whole economic structure. So far are they from realizing that their very life depends on working it at full blast that they believe there exists even now in the world great stores of ready-made wealth which they ought to and can secure if they are only insistent enough and if they can utilize the machinery of the state to extract it from its present owners. In consequence, all over Europe, at a moment when government expenditure should be reduced to a minimum, clamorous demands for the extension in every sphere of government activities are pressed forward. Government expenditure thus bounds up, and, since the limits of taxation and loans are reached, further currency depreciation and a further approach towards the abyss are the result.

The situation in France and Italy is not yet so desperate as in Central Europe, but their future is extremely dark. It is quite impossible for them to continue importing

on the scale they are doing now. It is not generally recognized that a year ago these countries were able to obtain much more credit than they can to-day.

In the last year both London and New York have advanced them very considerable sums through ordinary banking and private channels. The most recent National City Bank circular states that "the present volume of trade can be accounted for only upon the theory that individual credits have been granted upon a larger scale than is generally known," and that "there is much evidence to confirm the opinion." But this cannot continue indefinitely. Most of these credits cannot be paid off, except by renewals of some sort or by raising long loans in foreign countries, the public response to which is doubtful. It will be difficult in these circumstances to secure fresh credits.

There would seem to be no alternative between an enormous, perhaps an impossible, decrease in imports from overseas or a collapse of the exchanges. The statistics published by the Supreme Economic Council show that between January and October, 1919, French imports exceeded exports by £538,000,000, and Italian imports exceeded exports by £390,000,000. A collapse of the French and Italian, as well as of the German exchange, would, of course, very seriously affect all the smaller nations of Europe as well as ourselves. British exchange is being depressed now because of European nations meeting their obligations in the United States through London, and as long as these nations have any sterling they can so use, it must continue to be depressed.

What ought to be done? The writer believes that the simple remedy of raising an immense loan in America to provide credit for Europe would be like curing a drunkard by giving him more to drink. We may kill him at once if we cut off his drink altogether, but if we go on giving him as much as he wants, he will certainly die fairly soon anyway.

It is not by easy credit-taking that the European nations can establish their equilibrium, but by the very opposite—namely, by the most painful efforts at readjustment, by diminishing their consumption of imports to the very lowest point, by buying from countries who can afford to sell to them, by getting their imports from fellow-sufferers in distress, food from Russia and Rumania, manufactures from Germany, and so on, and by taking advantage of the depreciated exchanges to increase their exports, so far as they can, outside Europe. It is essential that the real economic burden should weigh heavily on each individual. It is only by his efforts and sacrifices that the evils we are all suffering from can be remedied. An easy supply of commodities on

credit, especially if coupled with increased purchasing power from increased credit and currency, will merely confirm his optimism and his extravagance and make the evil day more evil when at last it comes.

A New York Banker's Opinions

IN the *North American Review*, Mr. Stuyvesant Fish, the well-known banker, declares that the only trouble with the exchange situation abroad is that the fall represents a premium that has to be paid in countries afflicted with over-issues of irredeemable fiat money, when they seek with such money to buy gold. Mr. Fish does not, however, favor the putting of any restriction upon the export of gold from the United States for commercial purposes, nor is he opposed to our merchants, bankers, financiers, and capitalists making loans or investments abroad, but he insists that payment must be exacted in American gold dollars and at rates of interest enough higher than those here prevailing to justify the investment of money outside of the jurisdiction of our Government.

He would encourage the making of such loans and investments by individuals. He believes that America should now begin to act as the banker of the world, but must do so prudently, in full appreciation of her responsibility to herself and to other nations.

Mr. Fish outlines three possible ways by which the various countries may extricate themselves from their present dilemma:

First: To resume specie payments, as Great Britain did in 1821 after more than twenty years of suspension, and as the United States did on January 1, 1879, after seventeen years of like experience.

Second: To flounder along for indefinite years with a depreciated currency, constantly varying in value in respect to gold, as Spain, Austria, and Russia have done.

Third: To repudiate the paper currency, as was done by the United States during our Revolutionary War in 1780.

Where paper money has fallen to a very great discount (our Continental money became worth only two cents on the dollar, before it was absolutely discarded) the best outcome probably will be to let the stuff become valuable and interesting solely as a memento of past bad times, as soon as possible. After all, this would involve merely an internal tax, and one of no very great amount, on any one individual holder, and would fall upon all in proportion to their holdings. Let us hope that the gold-paying countries of the world, among which the United States must take the lead, will work out some solution, by carefully husbanding their resources of gold and of credit based thereon, and intelligently, profitably, and liberally using them for the common good of the whole world.

THE GERMAN REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION

THE comments of the German press on the failure of the Kapp revolution indicate that the more liberal sections of public opinion were inclined to accept the result as the final overthrow of the militaristic party. Cautious writers, however, suggest that the whole series of recent events is part of an evolutionary process.

In the *Frankfurter Zeitung* regret is expressed that even after the ignominious breakdown of the military *coup* at Berlin many people have not yet learned the obvious lesson that it teaches, namely, that a policy of force is disastrous in every case.

There could have been no compromise with high treason, for although a nation might live under a conservative government, yet a government which owes its continual existence to a compromise with traitors would be so rotten that it could not endure any length of time. The Berlin crime has again called up Spartacism, a consequence which might have been expected. It can only be allayed by severe justice towards the reactionary parties of the Right. Only by this means can the suspicions of the proletariat be set at rest. Nor do they deserve consideration, for they have again plunged the nation into fearful misery. A thorough investigation is necessary. At present only those men are known who stood in the forefront, like Colonel Bauer, who has so often been the evil spirit of the German people. . . . But we must know who stood behind them, and who financed this movement.

But democracy also should learn a lesson from the *coup*. A complete reorganization of the Reichswehr is indispensable. That young, misguided officers should have been able to undo the work of anxious months, and rob the new army of the confidence of the people, is tragic. We must not allow that officers of Republican opinions should be morally ill-treated and forced out of the regiments. The unfortunate gamble of Berlin has shown how little patriotism and sense of responsibility exists in reactionary quarters. We must also take care that the civil service contains reliable men. In Silesia reaction is rampant. It is even asserted that a "White terror" prevails to a certain extent. But it would be unjust to put the whole blame on the officer caste. In many instances officers are without any political bias, but they have been trained in a Conservative spirit, and they need to be taught that the German nation can only be saved if the state is kept free from upheavals.

But let us be honest. The guilt of the traitors is great, but a large section of the German bourgeoisie is equally guilty. Their objection to high taxation, their discontent with the economic situation, have tended to an orientation towards the Right. . . . The democratic government was held responsible for all the consequences of

the war. Intrigues, abuse, ill-natured gossip were employed systematically to undermine the authority of the Government. That this Government was able to show a record of enormous work and had succeeded in creating order after months of anarchy, was in no way recognized. There was a childish idea that some other Government might conjure up a state of things as it was before the war. Instead of resentment against the old régime, there was a growing bitterness against the new state. It made these "strong men of the Right" imagine that their hour had come. They were deceived.

The same journal remarks that the victory of German democracy cannot fail to make a great impression abroad. The German people have indeed proved by their effective resistance to the militarists how seriously they take the cause of democracy.

Provided that there is a sense of justice in the world the energetic overthrow of Kapp and Lüttwitz should eventually be to the advantage of German prestige abroad. But has the world become just?

The Chauvinist quarters of France at once tried to take advantage, and called out that the hour for splitting up Germany had arrived, and with it that for the permanent annexation of the left bank of the Rhine. They deceived themselves completely. The German people desires to remain one. It has fought for its preservation . . . and is determined to put its house in order. . . . We shall bring this affair to a worthy conclusion, and take care that in future democracy will be safe in Germany.

Some part of the guilt falls on the Entente states, because the treatment they meted out to the country which they had conquered was calculated to discredit the democratic government and undermine its prestige with the nation. The maltreatment of Germany by the victorious powers simply encouraged the reactionaries.

It is the opinion of the *Berliner Tagblatt* (March 26) that the military revolt ought to have cleansed the air like a thunder-storm.

But, unfortunately, it has not had that effect. The whole affair ought to have shown the Government the need for a complete reform of the ministry. Instead of this, only unimportant changes have been made as the result of long shilly-shallying. This has caused the trade unions to change their attitude and demand further concessions. A sincere desire for a compromise induced the Democrats to meet the trade unions as far as the nine points. But if the trade unions are out to subjugate Parliament to their will and stand for the class war of the proletariat, the truly democratic parties must unite against this violation of parliamentarism.

MR. HOOVER AS A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE



HE CANNOT HELP HIMSELF
From the *Bulletin* (San Francisco)

THE nation-wide discussion of Mr. Herbert Hoover as a possible Presidential candidate and the unusual circumstances attending the promotion of his candidacy have moved Professor Vernon Kellogg to write in the *Yale Review* concerning Mr. Hoover, not merely as an individual, but "partly as a personification of our impatience with the old, all too old, order."

In certain quarters the talk about Mr. Hoover for the Presidency, as Professor Kellogg observes, has been reluctantly recognized. He says:

There is much talk—and thought and feeling—about this remarkable man in connection with the Presidency, and there is a reluctance, a bitter reluctance, on the part of the leaders, the professional and prominent politicians, to hear this talk. For Mr. Hoover is very clearly not one of them, nor is he a man to be controlled by them. They can see him only as a probable bull in the political china-shop. They fear that all those rare relics, too fragile for robust handling, those prized porcelains of the McKinley and Cleveland dynasties, those mysterious draperies from which the illusionist-politician extracts white rabbits and full dinner pails, would get roughly handled by such a man. And the self-appointed curators of the political museum do not want their things roughly handled.

Mr. Hoover himself says that he is only

one of a group, and this may be admitted, although he happens to be, as Professor Kellogg says, an unusual one. To some, including Professor Kellogg, he seems to have been designated as the national leader in this time of transition.

The world always moves, but sometimes it moves faster than at other times. This is one of the fast times. It is particularly in such a time that we see the threadbareness, the pitiful make-believe of the old things trying to offer themselves as sufficient for the new days. And it is particularly in such a time that we, the blessed people, get impatient. And each new time we get impatient we get a little more so. Some time there will come the moment of a real disturbance of the equilibrium: the time when the new force is greater than the old inertia.

The question is, Has that time come now? Has this country, this people, in its political evolution come to that stage to which it certainly will some time come, if it has not already, when it will give its suffrages to leaders and to measures that are men and measures of to-day, not ghosts and traditions. Has the time come when nation means more than party, when independence of thought and action will outweigh inertia and be chosen in place of the inviting and selfish ease which inertia offers? There are, indeed, signs that this very remarkable state of affairs may have arrived, or is in rapid way of arriving.

To refer to Mr. Hoover again, for example, as a personification of independence and disregard of political party, and of placing common sense and thought over nonsense and echo, what does the extraordinary expression that is coming to-day from all parts of the country, all ranks of society, all interests from the "street" to the factory, of confidence in him and desire for his leadership mean if not that the people have awakened and that the force which inertia has most to fear is in process of working?

In concluding his article Professor Kellogg speaks of Mr. Hoover as a man who, as a result of meeting the call for service, had his attention taken away from the problem of producing wealth from the earth to a serious consideration of the problem of how that new wealth should be controlled and distributed to do the most good for the most people. "He goes at the new problem in the same independent, common-sense, scientific way as he did at his old ones, and finds himself suddenly in a field hitherto held sacred to men called statesmen and politicians.

"So the talk of independence and bloodless revolution which one hears is all coupled with talk of a leader; men of both parties talk of him as well as men and women of no party."

CANADA'S POSITION IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

CANADIAN opinion on the subject of participation in the League of Nations is voiced by the Honorable N. W. Rowell, President of the Privy Council, in the *Canadian Magazine* (Toronto) for April. This writer admits that such participation means a complete reversal of Canada's traditional attitude toward foreign policy and world affairs.

In the past Canadian public opinion has demanded that our governments concern themselves almost exclusively with our own domestic problems, that we should not mix in the maelstrom of European or world politics, that we should go our own way and live unto ourselves. The war has changed all this. It has shown that no one nation can live unto itself, that that which vitally affects one ultimately affects all; and whether we welcome or regret the prospect we must face the new condition and accept our share of responsibility for international coöperation and world peace.

Mr. Rowell expresses the regret of the Canadians, as neighbors of the United States, at the absence of our representatives from the meeting of the Council of the League at Paris on January 16. He also expresses Canada's hope that the United States will

become a member of the League, and that the whole weight of her influence will be thrown on the side of the great principles for which the League stands.

The inauguration of the League, with Canada as one of the original members, marks Canada's advent into the family of nations as a member of "the Britannic Commonwealth of free, self-governing States." The British Empire, says Mr. Rowell, has ceased to be an Empire in the real sense of the term, composed of one central power with lesser powers dependent on her, and has become in a very true sense a commonwealth of free, self-governing nations of equal status, though not of equal power, all owing allegiance to a common sovereign and bound together by historic ties and by a community of interest and sentiment which are the surest guarantee of its strength and permanence.

In support of this position, Mr. Rowell cites a statement made in a report of the British War Cabinet for the year 1918 and also a statement made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in September, 1919. Although Canada and the other Dominions took part in the Peace Conference, and later



A FAMILY PARTY

UNCLE SAM: "No, John, I'm not goin' in there if you take the boys with you."
 JOHN B.: "It's time you did some thinking, Samuel. You've got as much reason to stick to them as I have. You've heard of the Pacific, haven't you?"
 From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia)

were admitted to the League of Nations with all the rights, privileges and obligations of membership, the position of the Dominions in the League has been challenged in the United States, and their right to a vote has been called in question. Mr. Rowell declares that none of the seventeen other American nations named in the Treaty, either as members of the League, or as neutrals entitled to become members, has raised any objection to the participation of Canada or the other Dominions. Nor has any nation in Europe, Asia or Africa offered such objections. Mr. Rowell contends that Canada is entitled to membership in the League and to a vote in the Assembly (1) because she is a free, self-governing nation, (2) because of her proved interest in the cause of peace and the part she has played in promoting the settlement of international disputes, and (3) because of her part in the war and her contribution for the reestablishment of world peace.

Some have likened the position of the British Empire to the United States and the position of Canada to one of the States of the American Union. No comparison could be farther from

the fact or less truly represent our constitutional position. In the United States one Government, the Federal, waged the war, called out the troops, levied the taxation, negotiated the terms of peace. Its jurisdiction extended into every State of the Union and no State had the right to question its authority. In the British Empire, on the other hand, six governments waged war, called out troops, levied taxation and negotiated the terms of peace. Great Britain had no more constitutional right to conscript men in Canada or levy taxes for the purpose of carrying on the war than had the Government of the United States or the Government of Panama. In our participation in the war the Government and the Parliament of Canada were exercising their sovereign rights. The Canadian Government and the Canadian Parliament exercised these sovereign rights in behalf of and were responsible to the Canadian people and to the Canadian people alone. A more correct comparison would be between Canada and the United States, our Federal Government corresponding with theirs and our Provincial governments to the State governments.

To the argument that Great Britain has six votes, while the United States has only one, Mr. Rowell replies that Great Britain herself has only one vote and that each of the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire has a vote in its own right as an original member of the League.

AMERICA AND THE PEACE TREATY—AN ENGLISH VIEW

WRITING on "The Hesitation of America," in the *Fortnightly Review* (March), Mr. Holford Knight sums up a number of impressions of American public opinion received by him during a recent visit to the United States. In brief, this writer is convinced that the matter at the root of America's unwillingness to ratify the Peace Treaty is simply and solely her intense dislike of the old European system of diplomacy, and her suspicion that the treaty, and even the covenant, seeks to perpetuate it. "To put the matter plainly, millions of Americans believe they have been argued (through President Wilson's failure to resist) into slavery—slavery to the hated European system, with its secret machinations ostensibly directed to 'national' objects, but used as a screen to cover economic exploitation by favored groups in the Parliaments of the great powers."

The territorial annexations offend American opinion not only by the wrongs they inflict and the revenge they excite, but by the use to which

they will be put. The process of "mandates" has ceased to deceive. America is persuaded that under high-flying words these schemes are designed to promote exclusive financial interests. Personages connected with European governments are believed to be directly associated with these ventures. It is also thought that the machinery of European diplomacy (unknown to the peoples concerned) is used habitually to promote and cover these designs, and that American power and credit is to be relied upon in part to provide international protection.

The distrust is carried over to the Covenant of the League of Nations. The cardinal American objection to the present League is that it is to be used, primarily, to underwrite the revived designs of the old European diplomacy. It is certain that whatever action the American Senate may take in regard to the treaty, the territorial and political guarantees contemplated by Article X. of the League Covenant will not be assumed by America, for the reason here given. I argued with American statesmen that Article XX., abrogating understandings and obligations *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms of the Covenant, provided a safeguard against this contingent support of territorial annexations. Such efforts failed. America on no account will accept responsibility for the proposals of European Chauvinists of any nationality.

Also, in connection with the League, the absence of any reference to the freedom of the seas, coupled with the failure of the Paris Conference to consider the reservation, "as promised in the memorandum of the Allied Powers transmitted through President Wilson to the German Government on November 5, 1918," is held to constitute a breach of what was implied in the Anglo-American discussions before America entered the war.

Nevertheless, Mr. Knight regards the present deadlock as only a temporary misfortune which will pass away. He offers

some suggestions designed to facilitate this process. First of all, the unqualified acceptance of the peace Treaty is "an idle dream."

The only way out is for America to ratify the Peace Treaty, coupled with a declaration of the principles that instrument is expected by America to operate. By this course America assumes her rightful part in the execution of the treaty while safeguarding herself from participation in, or responsibility for, arrangements she cannot accept. This carries her coöperation in the League, before which at the earliest moment those parts of the treaty to which she objects must be brought for revision. On these terms I am convinced that American aid can be assured. Otherwise her abstention is certain.

SHALL THE TURK STAY?

THE decision of the Supreme Council to allow the Turk to remain in Constantinople has aroused a storm of protest. Writing in *The New Europe* for February 19, Mr. Arnold J. Toynbee makes a vigorous attack upon this policy, asserting that the decision "insures the Turk the recovery, sooner or later, of that full political sovereignty and military control over the Straits which he enjoyed before the war; that is, of opening or closing at his pleasure an economic highway, the assured and permanent freedom of which is essential for the economic reconstruction of the Danube countries and Russia; in fact for half the Continent of Europe." He blames, principally, the Indian Government for having persuaded Mr. Lloyd George:

only avenue of trade is through the Straits—not on any of these pressing European grounds, but in order to gratify a remote Moslem community at a delicate stage in the constitutional development of an Asiatic dependency of the British Empire.

... Napoleon accused us of being the enemies of Europe, the Germans echoed his indictment, and now the Constantinople decision has gone far toward transforming an extravagance into sober truth. Since the Armistice, and still more since the virtual withdrawal of America from the settlement, the casting vote has been in our hands; and in this vital question of the Straits, which affects the economic future of half Europe, and which ought to have been settled for Europe's general good, we have used our power irresponsibly, with no eye to European interests but simply with regard to the passing expediences of our Indian policy. If errors of policy like

It is no secret that the battle over the destiny of Constantinople has been fought, not between the British and French governments, but between two factions in the British Government, whom we may call respectively the "Europeans" and the "Orientalists," and that the "Orientalists" have won. In other words, Mr. Montagu has persuaded Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Lloyd George the Supreme Council, to settle the question of Constantinople and the Straits, not on the merits of the case, not with reference to the wishes of the local population, not with any consideration for the stricken countries of Eastern Europe which must revive their international trade or perish, and whose



"— WHO LAUGHS LAST!"
From the *Star* (London)

this are repeated, a conflict between Great Britain and a united Europe will be inevitable.

In the succeeding issue of *The New Europe* the same writer develops his onslaught under the title of "Mr. Montagu's pound of flesh." He pauses, however, to ask the question, What, in the Supreme Council's interpretation, does "Constantinople" mean?

It can be interpreted in three senses: (i) as the actual city of Stambul, confined to the peninsula between the Golden Horn and the Sea of Marmora, and bounded landwards by the famous triple wall; or (ii) as the entire urban area of Greater Constantinople, extending beyond the Golden Horn to Pera and Galata and beyond the Bosphorus to Scutari and Haidar Pasha on the Asiatic shore; or (iii) as the Vilayet of Constantinople, the metropolitan province of the Ottoman Empire, which includes not only Stambul and its European and Asiatic suburbs, but the entire length of the Bosphorus and a strip of territory along each shore of it from the Marmora right up to the Black Sea.

Mr. Toynbee believes that, under Mr. Montagu's influence, the Supreme Council intended to leave the Turk master of Constantinople in its widest sense; that is, master of the entire Vilayet. He recapitulates his reasons for rejecting this interpretation absolutely. The second interpretation is also put out of court by the same objections, since "it would leave Turkey in full control of one entrance to the Bosphorus and therefore, in effect, of the whole passage." "The first interpretation alone, which limits 'Constantinople' to Stambul, is conceivably compatible with the secure and permanent freedom of the sea passage which skirts the Pharos and Seraglio point." And this alternative

"would satisfy any reasonable claims that can be put forward either by the Turkish nation or by the Moslem community in India." Stambul, moreover, contains everything in Constantinople that is valued by Turkish or Moslem sentiment.

But let us avoid misconceptions; if the destiny of Stambul were to be decided by sentiment, it would be awarded not to the Turks or Moslems, but to the Greeks. Greek emperors ruled in the imperial palace for eleven centuries before a Turkish sultan set foot there, and the Caliphs of Islam (or, rather, of one sect in Islam) have sojourned there only for four centuries—since 1517 A.D. The great Caliphs, who in a literal sense were Commanders of the Faithful and exercised political sovereignty over the whole Islamic community, reigned at Damascus and Bagdad: and Constantinople was the capital of their mightiest Christian contemporaries, the very Greek sovereigns who built Aya Sofia and the other magnificent churches in Stambul which are mosques to-day. Sentiment and history would assign Stambul to Greece, and though Mr. Venizelos, with rare statesmanship, forebore to claim it when he laid the Greek case before the Conference last year, he waived his title in favor of an international administration, and on the understanding that the city would in no circumstances be left to the Turk.

The question to be decided is whether the retention of the Sultan in Stambul (as an enclave) is compatible with the security of the Vilayet placed under an international commission, and with the permanent freedom of the Straits. . . . If "experts" decide that it is so, well and good. If, on the other hand, the Turk, under this arrangement, would be able to exercise any sort of power over the Straits, "out this sovereignty must go, bag and baggage, to Anatolia."

JUDAISM AND BOLSHEVISM

IN the *Revue Mondiale* Lieut.-Col. D'Aubigny writes with soldierly brevity, and fresh first-hand knowledge, on "The Jews and the Future of Bolshevism." The two subjects are almost wholly separate. It is easy to disprove the allegation that it is the Jews who have led Russia to the general destruction of the men of superior intelligence and of property rights. Criminals are of all races. No people is responsible for its renegades. The 3 to 4 per cent. of persecuted Hebrews in the Russian nation have not led the masses. Trotzky and a few others are apostate Jews. Lenine is of the Russian nobility. The roster of most

familiar family names reveals many racial stocks, but a majority of true Russians, including many generals, police officials, detectives, of the Czar's régime, and many professional criminals from the common prisons.

The relatively narrow limits where Jews have been congregated—the Polish Republic, Lithuania, White Russia, Ukraine—have most resolutely opposed Bolshevism. The capital, whence they were always excluded, and the great plains from Moscow eastward, are its chief support. But the massacres, confiscations, autocratic violence, have also followed the track of the Czaristic reaction-

ists, like Denikene and Kolchak. Like the terrors of the French Revolution, they are national, racial; in fact, the reaction from the long repressions, extortions and brutish ignorance forced on the race through the centuries of the imperial régime—though that reaction brings as yet no promise to the peo-

ple of political, social or individual justice.

Religious bigotry of the narrowest type has aided the cause of the Reds. Thus in October, 1919, the convention of Christian Evangelists in Petrograd voted to join the Bolshevik communists, to bring about the triumph of their common ideal, communism.

THE REMARKABLE AND RAPID RECOVERY OF BELGIUM

LIKE everyone else in the Allied Nations, the editors of the *London Review of Reviews* have asked these questions: How has Belgium effected so rapid an industrial recovery, and what steps has she actually taken to put her house in order? At least partial answers to these questions may be found in two articles in the English reviews for March.

The first of these, entitled "The Recovery of Belgium," is written by M. Emile Cammaerts, and appears in the *Contemporary*. During the first weeks after the Armistice there was a disposition among Belgians not to worry themselves unduly about the future; they still regarded themselves as the all-deserving heroes of 1914, to whom immense credits would be opened, and unlimited supplies sent, by a grateful Britain and America. Necessarily there followed a period of disillusion. Her Allies were over-occupied with their internal difficulties; scarcely any raw material arrived at Antwerp or Ghent; and the cost of living rose substantially. To make matters worse, Belgium's belief in a glorious political future received a rude shock by the substitution of Geneva for Brussels as the seat of the League of Nations, and by the treatment of her affairs by the Paris Conference.

Then, however, her war debts were remitted by her Allies, a first instalment of £100,000,000 on the war indemnities was promised her, and hope, accompanied by a practical determination to set to work, revived.

The first task to be undertaken was the restoration of the means of communication. The success achieved in this direction by the Ministry of Railways, under the strong control of M. Renkin, is by far the most striking feature of Belgian revival. In 1913, 3500 trains ran every day on the Belgian railway system, carrying an average of 250,000 tons. At the time of the Armistice all bridges and double-tracked lines north and west

of Brussels were completely or partially destroyed over a distance of a thousand miles, the signaling system was out of order all over the country, most of the rolling stock had been taken away, and there were only 500 engines left in the country. In December, 1919, 90 per cent. of the goods traffic was restored, and an average of 171,000 tons per day was being carried. Within twelve months, in spite of the difficulty of getting back from Germany either the Belgian rolling stock or German wagons, in spite of many obstacles arising from labor difficulties and lack of building material, the whole Belgian railway system with the exception of a few secondary lines, whose total length does not exceed thirty miles, was again in full activity, the only noticeable change being the reduced speed of the trains, owing to signaling difficulties.

Within a few months the canals had been cleared and the road system, which had been damaged or destroyed over a length of 1,000 miles, practically restored, so that Belgium found herself in possession of all her means of communication long before her trade and industry were ready to make full use of them. But the passenger services were at once taken advantage of by crowds of Belgians eager to travel freely after having been so long hampered in their movements.

This moves the *London Review of Reviews* to remark that the contrast between the Belgian and the British handling of the transport problem is not flattering to Britain's national pride.

The worst handicap in Belgium has been the deliberate destruction by the Germans of industrial plants. The removal of machinery was not so serious, since the Germans left card indexes behind them, and it was possible to locate and retrieve the stolen articles within a few months. But the total ruin of such iron and coal works as those of John Cockerill, near Liège, and those in Hainault and Charleroi, was a different matter. Nevertheless, taking all industries together, 76 per cent. of the pre-war personnel are at present employed. The following table shows the order in which the various industries approach the pre-war standard:

Food industries 89 per cent. of 1914 <i>personnel</i>			
Building	86	"	"
Art and Instruments	82	"	"
Glass	81	"	"
Paper	78	"	"
Books	76	"	"
Tobacco	75	"	"
Chemicals	74	"	"
Ceramic	71	"	"
Clothing	67	"	"
Woodwork and Furniture ..	66	"	"
Metal	64	"	"
Textiles	61	"	"
Skins and Leather	58	"	"
Quarries	57	"	"

Among the food industries, it may be noticed that the sugar factories have already exceeded the pre-war production, and are able to export.

Only in housing has Belgium failed, as yet, to make much headway; this matter, according to M. Cammaerts, was deliberately postponed until the question of transport had been dealt with.

Meanwhile, as Mr. Julius Price, writing on "The Reconstruction of Belgium" in the *Fortnightly* (March), points out, the question of temporarily sheltering the houseless population of the devastated areas has been partly solved by the erection of wooden barracks; "but the accommodation so far is totally inadequate to meet the demands." Mr. Price does not take so cheerful a view of the progress made as does M. Cammaerts. He remarks upon a certain lethargy in the authorities, and a very varying degree of energy in different districts.

Whilst in some places rehabilitation has been undertaken with remarkable energy, the only traces of devastation being the numbers of new buildings one sees on all sides—in others the magnitude of the task facing them appears to have quite sapped the activity of the people, with the result that grass is rapidly obliterating the ruins left by the Germans.

But he acknowledges that a triumph has been achieved in the rebuilding and reorganization of the railway system; and he admits that "there is a noticeably general effort to get over the difficulty," and notes that "Brussels to-day, in spite of the high cost of living, does not appear to be at all depressed." But as regards the capital,

a somewhat curious state of affairs exists; there is a wave of speculation about, and everyone who can scrape together a few francs seems to be taking a hand in the game. Industrial shares,

the exchange—all, in fact, that presents a sporting chance of "making a bit." One is constantly overhearing "Stock Exchange talk" in railway carriages and other places. I was told by a *boursier* that many people are making quite a good living out of the fluctuation in the franc on foreign exchanges, hence the amount of money so many apparently ordinary people have to spend on cars and other luxuries.

A visit to Antwerp disclosed more healthy symptoms. He noticed

an enormous amount of preparation in readiness for the speedy revival in the trade of the port, for during the war, owing to the closing of the Sheldt, activity in Antwerp came to a standstill, so there is a deal of leeway to make up. This will be gathered from the following figures taken from the official report. In the first seven months of 1914, 4129 ships entered the port, with a tonnage of 8,311,064 tons. In December, 1919, 436 vessels entered and cleared tonnage 636,848, of which 330 ships cleared with cargoes and 135 with ballast. Calculating on the average tonnage, we get an advance of about 100,000 tons of laden vessels in December over November, a very healthy sign, as will be agreed. Otherwise, conditions in the town itself apparently approximate those in the capital.

Again, he was impressed by the prosperity of Charleroi, where the German did little damage.

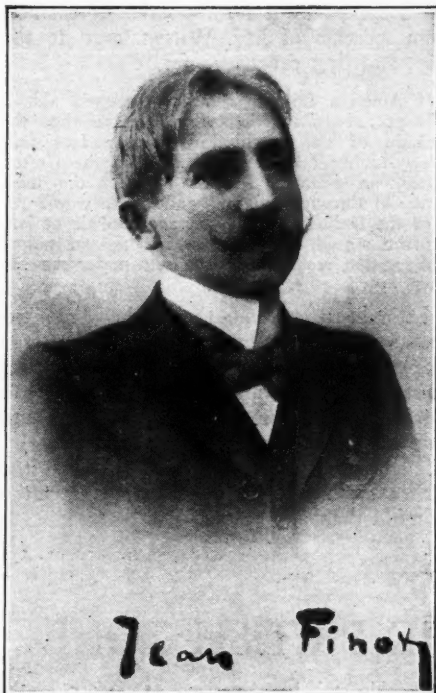
Every factory or mine is in full swing to-day. Manufacturers of tissues have enough work for the next three years, and will not accept any more orders. The same thing is told you with regard to glass, coal, iron works, electrical plant and machinery.

Never has there been such prosperity among the working classes as at present. There are no unemployed in Charleroi—unless a man does not want to work, you are told—pauperism is unknown, and charity organizations no longer exist. The money that is being earned by every class of worker here would have appeared fabulous in pre-war days: 17 to 20 francs per day for miners; laborers in the metal works, 13 francs; in the glass factories, £60 to £80 per month, with an eight-hour day, and double pay when working on Sundays.

The result of all this is that the *bourgeois* has been quite displaced by the *ouvrier*—who spends his money as easily as he earns it; only the best on the market satisfies his wife, and in the evening he crowds the cafés and cinemas.

Mr. Price does not display the same optimism as M. Cammaerts, but his facts point to the same conclusion—that Belgium is at least on the high road to a wonderful recovery. It may fairly be said that she has done more towards her complete rehabilitation than any one of her allies, although her initial disadvantages were at least as great as those of any of the Entente countries.

A FRENCH CRITICISM OF AMERICA'S ATTITUDE



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THE EDITOR OF THE "REVUE MONDIALE," OF PARIS

IN the *Revue Mondiale* (Paris) of March 15th Jean Finot writes with merciless frankness on "The Desolation of the World, and Some Remedies Therefor." The opening words strike the keynote: "Never was the aspect of mankind so tragic as at this moment." . . . "Before the war, Germany alone threatened the peace of the globe; to-day that menace is strangely multiplied." Among the many wars in prospect are listed our own "with Mexico, and, therefore, with Japan." Instead of the Yellow Peril arises the White Peril, driving Japanese, Chinese, Hindus, negroes into alliance against the superior pretensions of the Caucasian peoples.

Even England, though she secured from the Peace Conference all the German colonies and full control of the seas, is seriously threatened in Ireland, Egypt, India, and in her financial security. The pound sterling is at a discount of 33 1/3 per cent. in New York. The United States, alone, has felt no serious loss of men, and has

doubled its wealth. Into it, as a vast reservoir, all the resources of Europe are now rapidly flowing, thanks to the fatal rates of exchange. The French, with population already scant and stationary, have lost twenty-six times as many men as we, proportionally, and have destroyed or mortgaged all their resources for a hundred years to come.

The Americans and the British are charged with renewing trade with Russia and selling her products at extortionate profits to France, leaving the latter to bear the chief brunt of Bolshevik hatred. We refused to support Kerensky, or to let the Japanese make a Siberian campaign in his interest, when a really democratic Russia could have been retained, by timely energy, as a helpful ally in war and in the League of Nations.

Nearly all the world's present woes are laid at Mr. Wilson's door, M. Finot quoting such sentences of his own, suppressed by censorship in May, 1919, as: "Regarding himself as the temporal savior of the world, he applies to the anguish of a world in its birth the persistent stubbornness of an ill-informed or ill-directed intellect." The Fiume incident was England's and France's opportunity to repair some part of the gross injustice to Italy, which has sacrificed half a million lives and four-fifths of her means; "and just then Mr. Wilson, who has left the Allies in an economic and financial morass by his own mistakes, sends them a note such as no Czar or Kaiser would disavow, ordering that nothing be done without his approval." And yet, Serbia could easily have been brought to see that her political and commercial interests were one with Italy's.

Equally shortsighted, we are told, was the failure to let Bavaria and Rhineland break away, and the continuance of Berlin as the political center of Germany. The demands for the extradition of William and of his chief advisers have actually solidified distracted Germany against the common enemy.

"While one dangerous sick man like William II succeeded in calling down the world catastrophe, another has had the power nearly to nullify the results of a victory so painfully won." The writer re-

minds his hearers that all Mr. Wilson's influence will presently vanish with his retirement. But a far more serious prospect of world-wide economic hostility to ourselves is revealed when the writer finally comes to his "Remedies."

By the emphatic endorsement of the Monroe Doctrine, this country has logically pushed herself, and been pushed, out of all claims to meddle in any Old World problems. The Russian Government is already more than half "bourgeois," and the whole nation seems to have accepted these rulers. They should be admitted to full trade privileges, and to the league. Germany also, with the guarantees she must make, will be far less dangerous inside than out, and should be promptly admitted lest a dynastic reaction overwhelm her present democracy.

Lastly, Japan's "public wealth and industrial productivity have for some years pointed her out as destined to displace, in many respects, North America." There is cool mockery of good-will in the remark: "This rivalry would be as beneficial for Europe as

for Japan and the United States itself."

And the chief lines in this threatening sketch of our prospective commercial, political, and personal isolation of ourselves are deepened by a closing series of extracts from speeches of Mr. Wilson, even to the most startling prophecy of all:

If America fails to come to Europe's aid, it will produce a reaction which will change the attitude of the world toward our free and liberty-loving folk. . . . Without the United States, an alliance formed between the most powerful European nations and Japan would regard the United States as an antagonistic nation, for she would have broken her ties of union, and for that reason would be held under surveillance by the other peoples.

In a heartier tone, the closing lines express some hope that we may realize our true interests and duties. Yet even so Europe must act, with enlightened selfishness, to extricate itself from impossible financial and political conditions.

The article gives the impression that the writer has possible American readers more in mind than any others.

THE YANKEE IN THE BRITISH ZONE

A BOOK bearing this title which was briefly noticed in the March number of this REVIEW,¹ is the subject of an article by Coningsby Dawson in the *New York Times*. This British author says:

Many of us, both in America and Europe, have wondered how the American fighting man liked the war, what kind of impressions he brought away with him of the men of other nations who were his companions in the ordeal, what loyalties he formed and how those loyalties are going to shape his future life. The American soldier in Europe while the war was on was so modest, so intense and so silent that those who watched him gained hardly a guess at how he was feeling or what he thought. Here is a book at last which answers many of our unspoken questions. It is a frank, brave, sportsmanly record of the Americans who served in the British zone and who did so much to make the victory decisive in the final days of the war. It is a new kind of war book. The right kind. It has the justice of retrospect. It records not enthusiasm of the passing moment, but principles and disciplines which were gained at the front, which have already found their expression in character.

From the British point of view the book is exceptionally illuminating. The strictness of the

censorship robbed Americans of much of the glory that was due them. Very few men of our European allies had any exact knowledge of the American fighting man's military contribution to the victory. They were willing to concede that the threat of the limitless American man power compelled the victory. But they were and still are unaware of the fighting performance of American troops in the actual front line. Here, then, is the story of the American record in the Battle of a Hundred Days, which started on August 8 and ended with the armistice. And a splendid record it is, both as regards its material and the method of its telling. There is nothing grudging about its appreciation of the other men of other nations who played the game, shoulder to shoulder with the Americans, in the ordeal.

How ignorant we are, even we who were there, of the heroisms which took place outside our immediate environment. There was an occasion in the breaking of the Hindenburg line when a Midland division joined up on the right of the American Corps. Their particular job was to storm the St. Quentin Canal. The first wave went over clad in life belts, commandeered hurriedly from the Boulogne-Folkestone leave boats. Wearing these, the men won their way in the face of heavy machine gun fire to the edge of the canal, plunged in and by aid of the life belts reached the other side. One begins to recover the old splendor of the game in reading these pages. Here is the fine selfless admiration which made smallness of view impossible while there was a chance for sacrifice.

¹The Yankee in the British Zone. By Ewen C. MacVeagh and Lee D. Brown. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 418 pp. Ill.

MRS. HUMPHRY WARD

BY the death of Mrs. Humphry Ward in London on March 24 the English-speaking peoples have lost one of their most popular writers of the later Victorian era. Her books have been read quite as widely in the United States as in England, and those Americans whose memory runs back more than thirty years can hardly have forgotten the sensation that was created in this country by the appearance of "Robert Elsmere"—a novel that at the present day would hardly be hailed as "sensational" in any respect.

Mrs. Ward remained actively at work down to the very last of her sixty-eight years. More than twenty novels are credited to her, and among her more recent works are several books dealing with the Great War. Muriel Harris, writing in the *Nation* (New York) for April 3, comments on Mrs. Ward's career as representative of an epoch in English history:

There is no one to fill her place in English society, because there is no one left with the early Victorian idea of modern greatness. As shown most obviously in her books, Mrs. Ward thought of greatness as a concrete thing; as shown less obviously in her political and social career, she thought of it as a regenerating force which should make England—what? Something different, at all events, from what it was. Mrs. Ward's books often end in regenerating schemes which take the form of a museum or an institution. This was the Besant tradition—the tradition of the Victorian reformers, which she translated into terms that no one could fail to understand. But politically she was less vague. England—great, beloved England, as she understood it—was to be regenerated by its great young men. Some of these great young men grew old with her, but the idea remained and she was happy in having in her own family a great young man—George Trevelyan, of Garibaldi fame. Half her resistance to woman suffrage was based on this theory, almost unconscious, of the great young man, which often meant great in culture, or in position, or in politics, sometimes in all three. It was entirely by her efforts that her son obtained a seat in Parliament. It was as her spokesman that he opposed woman suffrage and made himself something of a reputation in so doing.

This writer also reminds us of the remarkable line of writers, teachers, students, men and women of distinction that has been given to England by Mrs. Ward's family. The record of the Arnold family in England is not wholly unlike that of the Adams family in America. Beginning with Dr. Arnold of Rugby, there have been four generations

of Arnolds who are almost as well known in America as in England. Mrs. Ward herself was a granddaughter of Thomas Arnold, of Rugby, and a niece of Matthew Arnold, the poet and essayist. The biologist Julian Huxley represents the present generation. Her brother, William Arnold, was a brilliant historian of Rome and also assistant editor for many years of the *Manchester Guardian*.

It is said that next to Philip Gibbs no one was more read in England during the days of the war than Mrs. Ward. She was indeed chosen by the British Government to describe "England's Effort During the War." One of her most intimate friends was Lord Grey and another of her friends in English public life was Lord Haldane. Speaking of Mrs. Ward's intimate knowledge of English society, the *Outlook* (New York) for April 7 notes that one of the chief attractions of her stories is that "she introduces us to cultivated people who talk with a sense of humor and mental acuteness about things of the day—politics, burning questions, conflicting social aims, and all this not usually dramatically, but always pleasantly."

The *Outlook* remarks concerning Mrs. Ward's books:

Probably the most dramatic novel in her long list is "David Grieve," which, oddly enough, was the immediate successor of "Robert Elsmere," of which it is the literary antipodes; in point of workmanship many critics still regard "David Grieve" as Mrs. Ward's best book. Others of the more notable titles are "Lady Rose's Daughter," "Helbeck," "The Marriage of William Ashe," and "Eltham House." Mrs. Ward has always been pretty free in her use of actual people in her characters, but with care not to be offensive nor to overstep courtesy—Lloyd George, for instance, appears unmistakably in the suffrage novel above referred to; at least three of the characters in "Robert Elsmere" are recognizable—Squire Wendover as Mark Pattison, Mr. Grey as Thomas H. Green, and the Swiss dreamy philosopher as Amiel.



MRS. HUMPHRY WARD

EDUCATING THE NATION

ELSEWHERE in this REVIEW the work of Superintendent Frank E. Spaulding, of the Cleveland Public Schools, is described at some length. In the April number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, Superintendent Spaulding outlines an educational program which he believes is demanded at this moment in the United States.

As the "minimum, definite, comprehensive" objectives that American public education should at once set for itself, Mr. Spaulding names: first, essential, elementary knowledge, training, and discipline; second, occupational efficiency; third, civic responsibility. The first objective, in Mr. Spaulding's view, is the indispensable basis of the other two, occupational efficiency and civic responsibility. These two latter objectives cannot be achieved by boys and girls before reaching fourteen years of age.

To achieve his first objective, Mr. Spaulding enumerates four simple measures which he thinks should be adopted: first, a minimum school year of thirty-six weeks; second, adequate compulsory attendance laws; third, effective public control of all elementary private schools; fourth, a teaching force, every member of which has a general education equal to that afforded by a good four-year high-school course, and professional training at least equivalent to that provided by a good two-year normal-school course.

Lest his readers should assume that these *desiderata* are already attained, Mr. Spaulding proceeds to set forth certain facts concerning our school laws and their administration that, to say the least, are not altogether reassuring. He declares that the amount of schooling that we Americans are getting is really very little. As a nation, he says that we are "barely sixth-graders," and that we are taught by tenth-grade or eleventh-grade teachers. Even including in the average all the time devoted to so-called professional training, his conclusion is that the average schooling of all the public-school teachers of America goes little if any beyond the eleventh grade, or third year of the High School.

Dr. Evenden has recently stated that "about 4,000,000 children are taught by teachers less than twenty-one years of age, with little or no High School training, with little or no professional preparation for their work, and who are in the great majority of cases products of the same schools in which they teach."

The situation, then, is this: In American elementary schools the comparatively uneducated are set to teach the slightly less educated and the ignorant. This brings us to the question of salaries:

How much education has America the right to expect anyone to bring to his task at \$630 per year, the average salary of all public-school teachers in the United States, both elementary and high, according to the last figures available?

How low individual salaries go is not revealed by any records at hand; we should blush to publish them were they available. It is quite enough to know that the average salaries, both elementary and high, for certain whole states are below \$300. And in no state has the average ever reached \$1,000, unless some unusually large increases of the present year may have brought them to that figure in two or three states. These are the facts that should offend. They are an offense, first of all, to American childhood and youth!

We may as well recognize at once and frankly admit the utter and increasing hopelessness of securing, at present wages, any considerable fraction of the required number of teachers who possess the higher qualifications herewith proposed. Let us acknowledge the inevitable; that average salaries must be increased by at least eight hundred dollars, that is, raised to two and one-half times their present level, if it is to be made worth while for capable women, and perhaps occasionally a man of fair capacity, to make the very modest educational preparation proposed, and then to devote themselves contentedly and loyally to the profession!

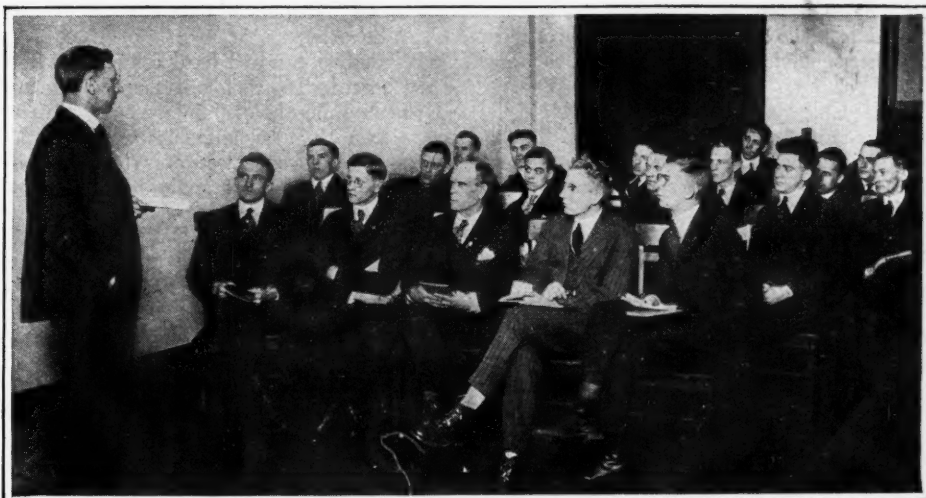
As to vocational and civic training, Mr. Spaulding's ideas are clearly formulated:

This should culminate in a full twelve-month year of instruction, discipline, and training, to be carried on directly under the auspices of the national government.

For this year of training, all male youth of the land should be mobilized by a complete draft carried out by the War Department, only those seriously crippled physically and the mentally incompetent being rejected as unfit; for one of the fundamental aims of this course of training should be to make fit.

Some option should be allowed the individual concerned as to the age at which he should enter upon this year of strictly compulsory training. He should not be allowed, for example, to begin it before reaching the age of seventeen years and six months; and he should be required to begin it before passing his twentieth birthday. This option would permit most boys in high schools to complete their courses before entering on this year's training; it would also permit those going to college to precede their college work with this year of training.

Of course, there should be a fixed date, or dates, on which the year's training must begin. Probably it would be advantageous to fix at least two dates—say July 1 and January 1, or August 1 and February 1—for the beginning.



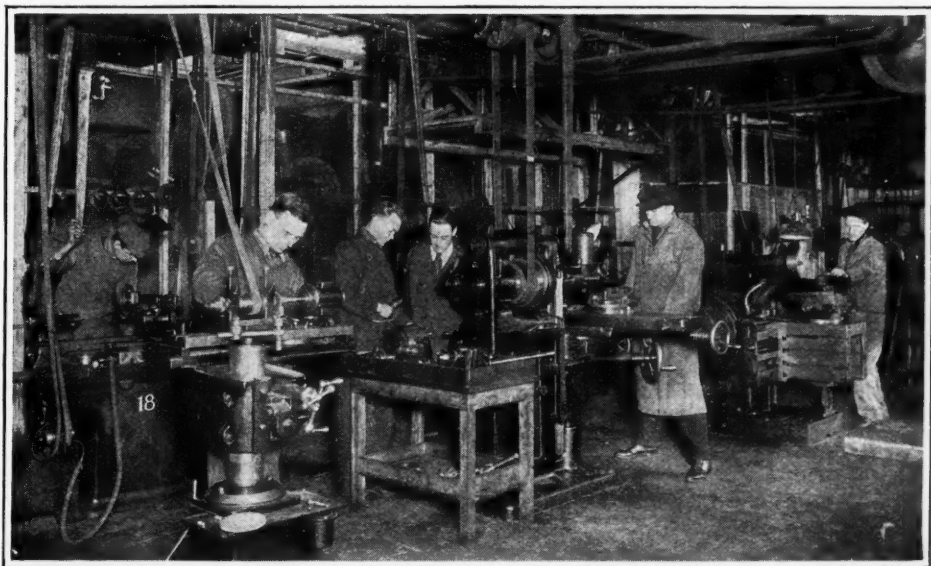
CLASS IN SALESMANSHIP CONDUCTED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE DAVENPORT, IOWA, Y. M. C. A.
(Of the thirty men enrolled, twenty-four are ex-service men. The group includes five automobile salesmen, four insurance salesmen, four machinists, three retail salesmen, two oil salesmen, and two secretaries)

SCHOOLING FOR EX-SERVICE MEN

FOR the present year the sum of \$3,000,000 has been made available for the work under the comprehensive Educational Service Plan, adopted by the Young Men's Christian Association. This is a part of the unexpended balance of the educational item in the war work budget raised in November, 1918. The funds are devoted to

four main uses: (1) scholarships, (2) vocational guidance, (3) reconstruction lectures, and (4) Americanization.

Under the first head, what is known as the General Scholarship Fund has been allotted to the States of the Union on the basis of two cents per person of the total population according to the census of 1910, and



SCHOLARSHIP STUDENTS LEARNING MACHINE TOOL OPERATING IN NEW YORK CITY

each State committee is authorized and required to make allotments to cities, counties, or other subdivisions of the State on the same basis.

The Collegiate Scholarship Fund, equal to one-tenth of the General Scholarship Fund, is administered by the State committees instead of by local committees in cities and counties.

As described by Mr. William F. Hirsch in *Rural Manhood* for March, the usual procedure is for the city or county to organize an Educational Service Committee, generally consisting of five men, at least one of whom is an ex-service man, and this committee makes known to the ex-service men in the city and county the benefits available in scholarship awards. Applications are received from ex-service men and those applicants who appear most worthy are selected and awards made up to the amount of the allotment assigned to each local committee.

These scholarship awards are available for a tuition and other expenses in Y. M. C. A. schools, business schools, high schools, and any correspondence courses conducted by the

Extension Division of the United Y. M. C. A. Schools.

About five hundred local committees have been organized throughout the country and during the months of January and February more than 15,000 scholarships were awarded to ex-service men, most of whom at once entered on courses of study in the various schools to which they were assigned. It is estimated the funds at the disposal of the committee will provide courses of study of various grades and kinds for about 50,000 men.

Great interest has been shown in the vocational courses offered by the Y. M. C. A. in many cities. Of the 903 men in Pittsburgh's night school, 717 are ex-service men. Approximately 1000 ex-service men have enrolled for extension courses, greatest interest being shown in commercial subjects with electrical work as a close second. In rural areas the largest proportion of requests is for study in farm management, soils and fertilizers. Most of the men studying in the New York Y. M. C. A.s are taking technical courses.

"BOOKS FOR EVERYBODY"

THE American Library Association, with a membership of 4000 active librarians, has undertaken to raise a fund of \$2,000,000 for the purpose of promoting the use of books and other printed matter throughout the country. The Association has adopted what is called an Enlarged Program, which is outlined in the *Library Journal* as follows:

First of all, it continues into peace times the work of war-time for the soldiers and sailors discharged from the nation's service, and enlarges the provision for those servants of all of us who watch our coasts and light our light-houses and provide otherwise for our safety and comfort. Next, it provides for a survey of the library situation throughout the country, so that each library in the many thousands, large or small, may be stimulated to do its best and make the most of its opportunities by help of the experience and suggestion of all other libraries. Then it proposes work on a national scale, beyond the scope of State library commissions, in making more adequate provision for the blind, for those in hospitals, and for the outposts of men and work here and there throughout this vast country. It seeks, especially, to reach those who have come newly to our shores, without American training or experience and with little knowledge of books, by giving them such books and providing such help as will bridge the gap

from their old-world restrictions into the full freedom of American citizenship, with its great responsibilities. And lastly, it provides for the maintenance, in the American Library at Paris, of an outpost in the Old World, which, through our sister republic of France, should extend American library facilities and teach American library methods to the people across sea, who are all ready, as one result of the war.

This country has always been regarded as the pioneer in free library development, and library support from public funds is by no means a novel idea in most of the States of the Union. Yet the facts that have been disclosed in this present campaign show that in many American communities libraries are without adequate support, while much might be done even in those communities that have the best library equipment to bring their service within the reach of large sections of the population that are now virtually neglected.

Our expenditures for public libraries are relatively smaller than is commonly supposed. All the libraries of the country, together, receive an annual income of \$16,500,000. Officials of the American Library Association



AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE "BOOKS FOR EVERYBODY" MOVEMENT

(The book-truck used by the St. Louis Public Library to carry books to its playgrounds. At least one such truck should be in every rural county in the United States)

estimate that an adequate income would be six or seven times that amount. There are 2964 counties in the United States, and less than 800 of these, or 27 per cent., have within their borders any one library of 5000 volumes or more, and a library smaller than that cannot be regarded as adequately equipped to take the initiative in developing a service. In thirty States less than 50 per cent. of the population is served by libraries, in six less than 10 per cent., and in one less than 2 per cent.

While we expend ten dollars per capita for the whole population each year for schools, we have thus far spent only sixty and one-half cents per capita for libraries, which, after all, are the principal after-school educational institutions for most of the population. It should be remembered that 42 per cent. of the children from fifteen to seventeen are not in school. Books made accessible through libraries widely distributed would provide a means of self-instruction for all.

In attempting to visualize the field for librarians in supplementing the work of the public school for adult self-education the Committee on Enlarged Program of the A. L. A. has enumerated these eight groups:

(1) The men and women of high school and college age who went into military service—many of whom will not begin again their formal edu-

cation but who might be stimulated to embark upon a reading course; (2) the boys and girls who each year leave school to enter business, and who are potential students, especially during their first few years out of school; (3) the men and women who, because of the changing world conditions, are eager for more information on the history and theory of government, economics and social development; (4) the millions of women, recently enfranchised, who want to know more about government and politics; (5) the foreign-born, enthusiastic in their desire to learn more about democracy, American ideals and citizenship; (6) the men and women, forced by economic competition and the high cost of living to seek ways of increasing their earning capacity; (7) the millions of men and women, boys and girls, who realize their educational limitations and want, in their ambitious moments, to continue their education along various lines, by serious reading; (8) the thousands enrolled in study clubs.

Commissioner Claxton, of the Bureau of Education at Washington, is particularly interested in the plans of the Library Association for the establishment of county libraries. It is the people of the small town, the village, and the open country who have most time for general reading and who would use good libraries to best advantage. Commissioner Claxton advocates the placing of public libraries in good buildings and with trained librarians in the county seats, and then starting branch libraries in the other towns and villages of each county and using the public schools as distributing centers. He

estimates that a tax of ten cents on a hundred dollars of taxable property would generally raise a sufficient sum to maintain a good country library on this plan. In his

opinion there is no other way in which an equal amount of money would accomplish so much good. This is one feature of the American Library Association's enlarged program.

A LAND POLICY FOR ITALY

THE growing tendency toward radicalism that is becoming more and more marked in Italy causes conservative Italians much anxiety and induces a search for possible measures for its control. One of these is suggested by Senator Luigi Canzi in *Rassegna Nazionale*. He advocates a revival on a large scale of the old form of contract recognized by Roman law and known as "emphyteusis," by which lands were granted in perpetuity, or for a very long term, on condition that they should be improved and that the holder should agree to pay a stipulated annual rental to the grantor. As a general rule the term was a perpetual one.

This measure, as well in the Roman epoch as in medieval times, proved a veritable anchor of safety in agricultural and social crises. To it is due the cultivation of millions of acres of land; to it society has often owed its escape from terrible popular revolts, by reestablishing the equilibrium in the distribution of land, and by attaching firmly a good part of the population to the normal conditions of law and order.

It seems to Senator Canzi that the hour has now come to resort to such a practical measure, and especially in the form of small, perpetual concessions of land in favor of the farmers. This would put a check upon the ill-regulated desires of a multitude eager for change, and, without doing violence to property rights, without doing injury to any class, rather benefiting all, would in part satisfy the aspirations of those who, blinded by misery, believe that their material conditions could be bettered by a violent change in the present distribution of wealth.

The large estates usually belong to the richer classes, who are rarely able to dispense with a complicated and costly system of administration, a system bereft of all impulse to improve and transform the management of the property while using a wise economy. Hence these estates, eaten up by parasites, make but poor returns.

The smaller land holdings are subject to another grave drawback; if they are confided to the management of an ignorant peasant

he costs the owner in poor returns as much or more than he may save him in salary, and if, on the other hand, a really capable and intelligent manager is hired, his salary—if divided up over a few acres—will absorb half the worth of the crop. Under these conditions the property is so little remunerative that any reasonable system of leasing would be preferable.

The writer believes that about five acres of land in the plains of Lombardy would suffice for the support of a family of five persons, and hence the assignment of 2,000,000 acres would create a class of 2,000,000 persons supported by the cultivation of land to which they would have a direct right. They would be contented with their lot, because they would be assured of their daily bread, and would be preserved from the fear of an uncertain future. They would therefore constitute 2,000,000 conservatives, enemies of any radical change because they would see in it a menace to their property rights.

This result would be accomplished if 200 owners of large estates were each willing to cede 10,000 acres on the terms proposed. Moreover, this measure would have another beneficial effect for society, as the land thus assigned would be better cultivated and would in a few years show a much larger production, thus increasing the general economic prosperity of the nation.

Another consideration that should encourage the great landowners to carry out this policy is that they would soon be in a position to capitalize their income on at least a 5 per cent. basis. There ought to be no difficulty in finding capitalists willing to take over the contracts at this rate, as the income would be just as secure and as easily collected as the interest on a government bond.

As a necessary condition for the success of this measure, the state should bind itself not to collect for ten years the tax now imposed upon the granting of perpetual leases of this type, provided they are made directly to the farmer, and never to levy any taxes upon the amount of the fixed rental.



Photograph by C. Gordon Hewitt

A SMALL HERD OF BISON IN THE BUFFALO PARK, WAINWRIGHT, ALBERTA

RESTORING THE BISON HERDS

NO animal has excited a greater amount of sentimental interest on the part of the American people than the bison. The harrowing story of this sadly maltreated beast has often been told. The cheerful epilogue of the story has but lately come to light, and an interesting version of it is presented in *Natural History* (New York) by Mr. C. Gordon Hewitt, who, as consulting zoölogist to the Canadian Government's Commission of Conservation, has taken an active part in the events that he records. Mr. Hewitt writes under the title, "The Return of the Bison."

Thanks to the protection accorded the bison, in the nick of time, by official and unofficial agencies in the United States and Canada, the race is no longer in danger of extinction, but is, on the contrary, increasing at a rapid rate. The story, in a nutshell, is told in the caption of one of the excellent photographs with which the author of the article above mentioned has illustrated his text. We read:

Probably no large quadruped has ever developed in such prodigious numbers as did the American bison in the days of its glory. The Central Plains, literally black with these huge oxen, supported countless millions which, except for a small tribute to the Indians and the wolves, roamed undisturbed. Even as late as 1871 there was observed migrating across the southern plains a single wedge-shaped herd on a twenty-five-mile front with a depth of fifty miles. Such a drove could contain no fewer than four million head. But of former myriads there were left in 1889 only about six hundred wild bison over the entire continent. From this small nucleus several herds were recruited, of which the largest is now in Buffalo Park, Alberta, Canada.

George Catlin, the painter of Western life, writing in 1841, placed the annual slaughter of bison at between two and three million per annum, and prophesied the extermination of the species within eight or ten years.

The death knell was struck when the construction of the Union Pacific Railway was begun at Omaha in 1866. Previous to the advent of the first transcontinental railway the difficulties of marketing the results of the slaughter served as a slight check on the rate of extermination, for, although the bison were being killed out at a rate greatly in excess of their natural increase, they would have existed for some years longer than the coming of the railroads and additional swarms of white hunters rendered possible.

This railway divided the bison into southern and northern herds, of which the former, the larger of the two, was completely wiped out by 1875. The northern herd, ranging far up into the wilds of Canada, was not so easily destroyed, though the building of the Northern Pacific Railway hastened the process of extermination. From the remnants of this herd the reconstitution of the race has been effected. Mr. Hewitt writes:

There came finally a brighter period in the history of the bison in America. In 1889, when they had reached their lowest level, there were only 256 buffalo in captivity, 200 protected by the United States Government in the Yellowstone Park, and 635 running wild, of which number 550 were estimated to be in the Athabaska region of the Canadian Northwest Territories; the whole bison population at that time was estimated to be 1091 head. An attempt was now made in the United States to protect the remnant and by 1903, according to the census of the American Bison Society, they had increased to

1753 head. These were chiefly confined in the national reservations and parks of the United States Government; some were owned by private individuals. The largest private owner appears to have been Michael Pablo, of Montana, who had a herd of about 700 animals in 1906, the value of which he fully appreciated.

In 1907 the Canadian Government learned that the Pablo herd was for sale, and with commendable foresight purchased it, realizing the importance of acquiring so valuable a herd of what had formerly been the most abundant of our large native mammals. For its reception and maintenance a special national park was established at Wainwright in Alberta. This reservation covers an area of about 160 square miles, the whole of which is enclosed in a special wire fence about 76 miles in length. Judging by the abundance of old bison wallows it evidently formed a favorite place for bison in years gone by. Several lakes, the largest of which is Jamieson Lake, about seven miles long, provide an ample water supply. The difficulties involved in the capture of the Pablo herd of bison and the transportation of the animals to the Buffalo Park at Wainwright, Alberta, can better be imagined than described. From the date of the receipt of the last animals in 1909 they have increased steadily each year until in 1918 they numbered 3711 head, or more than three times the total number of bison known to be living in North America in 1889.

The United States Government also took steps to protect and increase the herds of bison remaining. A national bison range was established in Montana; and in the Yellowstone National Park and other national reservations the bison were carefully protected, with successful results.

There are now eight herds protected by the United States Government, comprising altogether 891 animals. The largest number is contained in the Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming, where there were on January 1, 1919, 457 animals. In the Montana National Bison Range there were 242 animals on the same date, and the third

largest herd is to be found in the Wichita National Forest and Game Reserve in Oklahoma, where there are about 100 bison.

The total number of captive bison in the United States in January, 1919, according to a statement kindly furnished to me by Mr. M. S. Garretson, secretary of the American Bison Society, was 3048 head. It is estimated that there are also about 70 wild bison, making a total of about 3118 bison in the United States.

In Canada the Canadian Government has bison in three of the national parks. In 1918 the numbers of bison in these reservations were as follows: In Buffalo National Park, Wainwright, Alberta, 3520 animals; in Elk Island Park, Alberta, 183; and in Rocky Mountains Park, Banff, Alberta, 8; making a total of 3711 head. In addition it is estimated that there are about 500 wild bison, or wood bison, in the Athabaska region where they are now protected. Scattered throughout the Dominion in public and private parks there are approximately 40 additional bison. The total number of bison in Canada at the beginning of 1919, therefore, was about 4250 animals.

From the above estimates it will be seen that we have now approximately 7360 bison in the United States and Canada, as compared with 1091 in 1889. These figures show that the bison are coming back, and that they are doing so rapidly.

Already it is becoming a problem to take care of the increment of the protected herds. The Canadian authorities have arranged to give their surplus bison to such public institutions as desire them. Mr. Hewitt suggests that, in view of the present high price of beef, the value of the bison's "robe," and the ability of these animals to care for themselves out of doors in winter, farmers might be encouraged to purchase surplus animals from the Government and utilize them as cattle.

SHOP COMMITTEES IN AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

THE question of employees' representation in the management of industries is discussed by Dr. Royal Meeker, U. S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics, in the *Monthly Labor Review* (Washington, D. C.). Such representation became established on an extensive scale during the late war, in both this country and Great Britain. The British are carrying the idea forward in a systematic way by means of the so-called Whitley Plan, though this is still in the experimental stage. In America, on the other hand, where the governmental machines set up during the war to promote harmonious relations be-

tween labor and employers have mostly been abandoned, no national scheme of employees' representation is yet in sight. Dr. Meeker says:

During the war numerous "shop committees" giving a measure of representation to the workers were set up in many establishments, but no permanent nation-wide organization was created to tie these shop committees into a system, unless perhaps the Shipping Board and the Railroad Administration may be spoken of as permanent bodies.

The plan to bring the employees into closer relations with their employers by means of "shop stewards," "shop committees," "works councils," or other means is often hailed as the dawn of a

new democracy in industry. It is new as compared with ten years ago, or even five years ago; but it cannot be too emphatically stated that democracy in industry is not a discovery of the great World War. In fact, with all the shop committees and works councils of to-day, we have much less democracy in industry than obtained forty years ago or even in the Middle Ages, or at any time before the introduction of power-driven machinery with its tendency to segregate the employers and managers from their employees. The shop committee is the present-day attempt to restore some of the democracy lost through machine industry and big business. While it is, of course, impossible that there can ever be as complete democracy in a large plant as in a small plant, it is often true that the workers' committees of the large plants are able to secure better conditions and more consideration for the workers than the workers in the smaller plants are able to secure for themselves.

According to the writer, employees' participation in management is advantageous to the employers as well as the employed, for the following reason, among others:

A man will willingly work much harder, expend much more energy, and be much less fatigued working on a job which he has a part in planning, and for the results of which he is responsible. The present-day movement for industrial democracy is a partial recognition of the fundamental psychological phenomenon that industrial fatigue is not simply an engineering question to be stated mathematically in foot-pounds per hour or even a physiological question having to do with calories burned up in the body. Work is hard primarily because it is uninteresting and monotonous, or easy because it demands ingenuity or skill. Paradoxical as it seems, the way to make work easier is to make it harder by requiring more of the workmen. The mental application required or the muscular effort put forth has little to do with the hardness of a job. In so far as scientific management has resulted in merely breaking processes up into their component parts, segregating so far as possible the purely muscular and mechanical operations from the creative and planning functions, so-called "efficiency" has resulted in the most disastrous inefficiency. The "easier" specific operations or fractions of operations have been made, the harder they have become. All the efforts of the scientific managers and efficiency experts to arouse, increase, and maintain the interest of the workman in his work are bound to be fruitless unless the work itself is made interesting. The worker must be called upon to use his head in planning as well as his hands and feet in executing his work if contentment is to be attained.

There is but little fundamental difference between the various shop committees in this country, apart from that involved in their relation to the trade-unions. There are open-shop committees and closed-shop committees. The influence of the trade-unions tends to tie up the committees with the national craft organizations, while the influence of em-

ployers is, in general, directed toward localizing the committees within the several shops.

One of the biggest questions to be settled is whether employees' representation is to be local and under the direct control and domination of the employer, or whether it is to be nation or world wide and under the control of the workers themselves, or whether the general public will insist on being a party to every collective agreement so as to prevent the employers and the employees from agreeing too agreeably and charging the bill to the ultimate consumer.

As to function, most shop committees deal with grievances, working conditions (*i. e.*, safety, sanitation, and hygiene), wages and hours of labor, and methods of wage payments. Oftentimes a different shop committee is created to deal with each separate function coming under the general head of industrial relations. As to participation in management of industry in the true sense of the term there is as yet practically none in the United States. A great many general managers and directors of personnel say the employees have been taken into partnership and are taking part in the management of the business like true industrial democrats. No doubt these managers and directors honestly think they have achieved industrial democracy, but in the systems of employee representation which I have been able to examine the still, small voice of the general manager could be heard very, very distinctly.

There is a vast gulf fixed between expressing an opinion about the shape of the handle of the shovel one uses for heaving slag or the desirability of having a glee club rather than a debating society; and the planning and routing of work, devising methods and determining upon the tools, machines, and processes for making the finished product in a big plant. I insist that the management, even scientific management, has not a monopoly of all the brains in an establishment. The workers themselves can and do contribute. What is of vastly more importance than the increase in production as a result of utilizing the latent intelligence, ingenuity, and enthusiasm of the workers, is the increase in contentment. Here is a vast source of industrial power which has been cut off, isolated, by the transformation of little business into big business. It will be difficult to tap this source, but tap it we must if we are to continue anything resembling the present industrial organization with its large scale production. The good will of the workers is a much more potent force making for industrial efficiency than all the scientific management formulas and systems of production. There is no inherent reason why the good-will of the workers should not go hand in hand with scientific management. Until now the workers have had only antagonism for scientific management because the scientific manager never asked them for their opinions or ideas—he only told them what they were expected to do and the workers promptly did something else. Workers are not different from employers. That is precisely what ails them. If employers will deal fairly and squarely with their employees, let them know all about the business except only those technical processes which must be kept secret, and take them into a real partnership, production will be enormously improved both in quantity and quality.

A SPANISH VIEW OF WORLD LABOR CONDITIONS

OF ALL European countries, Spain has been least injured by the war. It is interesting, therefore, to hear an impartial view of the labor situation from such a source.

In *Nuestro Tiempo* (Madrid) José Carlos Bonna deals with the labor question—first, as an independent thinker belonging neither to the employing nor working class; second, with reference to world conditions.

General disorganization has followed the war. An odious struggle between capital and labor has further complicated matters—a new contagion of fury. One section of the press inflames the ignorant masses by printing unfair articles which suppress the truth.

One sees in Germany a country still docile, while Russia has no conscience. Germany has suffered a political change to a Republic, Russia a complete social metamorphosis from absolutism to anarchy.

Even countries not in the war have caught the fever of the class struggle and in many places hunger and misery have followed. No one denies that capital has been unduly greedy in many cases, or that it has oppressed workers; yet a struggle between capital and labor is most dangerous to the innocent bystander. (Here Señor Bonna agrees with Governor Allen of Kansas, who has asked why capital—which is about 2½ per cent. of our population—and labor (6 per cent.) should be allowed to grind the remaining 91½ per cent. of the people of the United States between them.)

It is true that workers gain by augmented daily wages, but they lose by the largely increased cost of living; this applies to both the industrial and agricultural classes. An increase in cost of labor to a manufacturer of twenty points in one hundred is passed on to the consumer at the rate of fifty points in a hundred. The consumer always pays the bill—the consumer often is the workman. If the consumer is rich, he complains and reduces his purchases slightly; if poor, he must cut down his standard of living and omit necessities.

Thus the employee, though paid more daily, pays such augmented prices that he is a loser in every way and must dress more humbly and eat coarser food—a strange phenomenon noted in many countries.

Not a few times have employers declared

that a request for a wage increase was impossible—then granted it. "How has the impossible, admitting of no modification, been modified?" If it could be done, why did not the employer give an increase before the bitter necessities of the worker forced the demand? "If it could not be, how was it done? By imposition, by force? This is unimaginable. One struggles with the possible; with the impossible, never."

According to Señor Bonna's opinion, this proves the exploiters were not doing the impossible; but, unfortunately, human greed limits the advance of the aspiring. People do not limit their demands to reason, but advance them to unacceptable limits. In short, workers conceive as a right wages which others regard as a tyranny to a whole people.

A fear of government fills the masses. In some cases the masses have taken over the government; absolutism of the masses has resulted. Why should other classes bow to such tyranny?

Suppose a contented community, united in bonds of a common hope, to-morrow, as the result of a controversy, bursts into house-to-house fighting (like the Guelfs and Gibelins)! And all this in the name of liberty!

Liberty! We say it glibly—a remedy for so many evils! But liberty ceases when compulsion begins. Liberty, as is well understood and applied, is merely *similia similibus curantur* and alone can save the life of a society embittered unto death.

The true remedy is that all must be free to aid, independent of fear. Is a man free who has been forced into a consolidation of men which his conscience loathes? In nearly every workers' association independence is preached, yet dependence is the rule; reason is demanded in unreasonable language; force is damned while compulsion is being employed.

There must be freedom of capital and labor. There must be no despotic associations, but free men. The vicious vagabond, the weak or useless, will succumb. Real workers will group together *with the object of working*, not to listen to servile agitators. The employer must be free to give his conditions, the employee free to accept or reject. The uncontroversial economic law will be reestablished—augmented production means diminished prices.

THE MODERN ORCHESTRA

THE many shortcomings of the musical instruments of our time, and the improvements which might and should be made in them in order to bring out their full beauty and power, form the theme of an interesting article, by Emanuel Moor, in the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Lausanne).

Music, he remarks, is the latest of the arts, but its technique is far from perfect, or even satisfactory. The orchestra in particular—at least its basic part, the string instruments—seems stationary. The writer, by right of his long experience as a musician, wishes to sketch an effort whose aim is to impart to the orchestra as a whole tremendous power without impairing the manifold and delicate shades of which music is capable.

The string quartet has not changed since Stradivarius and Guarneri. And yet the other instruments that have been added to the orchestra have appreciably improved. We still have to impress a host of violins to cope with the trumpets of the orchestra, and even then they are submerged by the powerful sounds of the wind instruments.

The violin, though admirable in form and in the delicacy of its tones, is not in accord with the energy or strength of the player; it cannot be, owing to its unfavorable construction and manipulation. The range of its tones is dependent upon too small a sounding-board, and the skill of the artist is subject to the action of the left hand, with the weakest fingers doing the most work. How is it that no ingenious violin-maker has as yet proposed a new shape which would release the vibrating power of the instrument to its full capacity?

Modern music goes far beyond the restricted limits of the traditional orchestra, which is evidently growing less and less able to express it, not only as regards harmonic amplitude, but—particularly—as regards range of tone. Suppose that the composer wishes to develop his idea first forcefully in a low register, evolving into the higher notes in a requisite majestic *crescendo*. He can not do it under the existing conditions. In the low notes the instruments are absolutely inadequate.

It seems as if in music we are contemporaries of the primitives. Perspective is literally choked up. Everything is on one plane. And this applies to the simple quartet as well as to a great orchestra. When the musical *motif* is developed in the barytone register

the violins must remain silent for lack of chords and tones. There remain the alto and the violoncello, which make desperate, futile attempts to round out a harmonious ensemble.

We find—and most composers realize the fact—that both in the low and high registers there is an enormous gap which lames musical expression. It seems incredible that no efforts have thus far been made to fill it. That gap, the writer claims, disappears with his system, for the same instruments which in the low register produce powerful, sonorous tones, rise as well to the higher ones, thus contributing continuously to the ample development of the musical creation. And that is the great *desideratum* of the orchestra; we must develop the instruments to their utmost capacity.

Let us have the courage to admit it; our generation is still following ancient methods. No one dares change the sacred forms of our instrumentation. As a consequence confusion reigns supreme, creating obscurity, perpetuating mediocrity.

To-day the concert-halls are growing more and more vast. Composers aim to create new, resounding effects, but are baffled by the limited scope of the interpretative means. Is it not essential to renew completely the art of instrument-making? The violin, king of the orchestra, can shine only if the other instruments are quiescent, or almost so. Hence the great and fundamental change which the writer proposes is the enlargement of the sounding-board of the violin, for the experiments of a century upon resonant instruments demonstrate that the perfecting of the violin can be achieved only by that means.

The writer describes an instrument of his own devising, constructed on the principle of the violin, upon which he experimented. The results convinced him of the soundness of his contentions. The resonance obtained equaled in intensity that of eight or ten violins, without impairing the quality of the tones. Moreover, the player, comfortably placed in front of his instrument, can exercise all his energy and skill without discomfort or fatigue. One can, besides, play with both hands and use the bow by means of pedals. Owing to the horizontal position of the instrument, which rests on four legs, a longer bow can be used, imparting more force or softness to the chords.

THE NEW BOOKS

INTERNATIONAL TOPICS

The Inside Story of the Peace Conference.
By Dr. Edward J. Dillon. Harper & Brothers.
512 pp.

If John Maynard Keynes is the most competent observer of economic conditions who has thus far written about the Peace Conference, Dr. Edward J. Dillon is beyond question the best informed authority on the purely political aspects of the Treaty of Versailles. Probably no one of those who followed from day to day the doings at Paris in the early months of 1919 had in former years been personally acquainted with so many European statesmen or so completely in touch with the actual workings of European diplomacy as Dr. Dillon. Thus it resulted that at Paris the purpose behind each diplomatic move, frequently obscure to most of the onlookers, could not be hidden from this clear-visioned, experienced observer of world politics. Dr. Dillon's book assumes to tell us not only what happened at Paris but why it happened. Dr. Dillon believes that it was "a fatal, tactical mistake" at Paris to make the charter of the League of Nations and the treaty of peace with the Central Powers interdependent. He also censures severely the attitude of the Peace Conference toward Russia.

A World Remaking, or Peace Finance.
By Clarence W. Barron. Harper & Brothers.
242 pp.

Another writer who criticizes the work of the Peace Conference is Mr. C. W. Barron, whose articles, written in England and France, in March of last year, were widely circulated in this country. He agrees with Dr. Dillon in censure of the Allies' policy toward Russia. The most important of Mr. Barron's articles are collected in this volume.

Rebuilding Europe in the Face of World-wide Bolshevism. By Newell Dwight Hillis. Fleming H. Revell Company. 256 pp.

In this little volume Dr. Hillis recapitulates the human and material losses of Germany, France, Great Britain and Russia and sounds a warning to Americans against Bolshevism. A chapter is also devoted to the rebuilding of the little nations of the East.

Is America Worth Saving? By Nicholas Murray Butler. Charles Scribner's Sons. 398 pp.

A volume made up of President Butler's admirable addresses on national problems and party politics. Among the topics treated are "The Real Labor Problem," "The High Cost of Living," "The Road to Durable Peace," "A League of Nations," "The Republican Party, Its Present Duty and Opportunity," "Theodore

Roosevelt, American," "The World's Debt to England," and "Education After the War."

France and Ourselves. By Herbert Adams Gibbons. The Century Company. 286 pp.

Dr. Gibbons is able to write with a certain confidence as an interpreter of present-day France to America since he was throughout the war and during the Peace Conference a resident of France, and during that time traveled widely over the country lecturing for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs upon the extent and spirit of American intervention. This volume is made up of magazine articles dealing with the work of Clemenceau, the question of Alsace-Lorraine, the industrial transformation of France during the war, the reconstruction of Northern France, the attitude of France toward peace, the Caillaux case, and the efforts to increase the birth rate and rehabilitate national finances.

The Russian Republic. By Col. Cecil L'Es-trange Malone. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. 153 pp.

Colonel Malone is a member of the British Parliament who during the war had a distinguished career in naval aviation. Last September he went to Russia for the purpose of getting first-hand information about the workings of the Soviet Government. He had interviews with the leading Soviet officials, and this little book tells what he learned in a three weeks' sojourn.

Red Terror and Green. By Richard Dawson. E. P. Dutton & Company. 272 pp.

Many American readers are likely to hesitate in accepting Mr. Dawson's claim that the Sinn Fein Movement in Ireland is merely the "western wing of Bolshevism." But the facts that he sets forth are certainly sufficient to show that the present Irish revolutionary movement is something utterly different from the Irish nationalism of a decade ago, or from any other political agitation in Ireland with which we of this generation are familiar.

Ireland an Enemy of the Allies? Translated from the French of R. C. Escouffaire. E. P. Dutton & Company. 268 pp.

M. Escouffaire's thesis in this volume is that the Irish Question so-called is "an international imposture." In years past this French writer had accepted anti-British propaganda from Ireland at its face value, but his contact with British statesmen during the war led him to question his earlier conclusions, and in the present volume after an independent study of Ireland's relations with England he declares categorically that the whole Irish claim of oppression by England, so far as the present generation is concerned, is a myth.

FRESH VIEWPOINTS ON THE WAR

In the World War. By Count Ottokar Czernin. Harper & Brothers. 387 pp.

The publishers have announced that this volume was written by the former Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs from his diary. At any rate, it seems to picture with more frankness than one expects to find in official statements the impressions and reflections of a participant in the diplomatic developments of the war. Count Czernin was one of those who believed that the German entry into Belgium in August, 1914, was a mistake, and that if England had remained neutral the Central Powers would have won the war. He makes the definite statement that the decision as to whether England would remain neutral or not lay with Germany and that the die was cast when Belgian neutrality was violated. After America's entrance into the war, it will be recalled that Count Czernin welcomed President Wilson's formulation of the Fourteen Points, and that the President publicly acknowledged early in 1918 Count Czernin's partial concurrence in his own views regarding a basis of peace.

Soldiers All. Portraits and Sketches of the Men of the A. E. F. By Joseph Cummings Chase. George H. Doran Company. 480 pp.

Mr. Chase was authorized to go overseas to paint the portraits of American soldiers, ranging from general to private. General Pershing took a personal interest in seeing that facilities were opened to him for this purpose, and the result was a remarkable collection of characteristic portraits and sketches. Mr. Chase began his work in the A. E. F. before the Armistice, and after traveling the entire length of the American front he went with the Army of Occupation into Germany. By automobile he traveled four thousand miles to and from each of the American divisions. Within three or four months Mr. Chase painted more than one hundred portraits, and it is said that probably no man who was not himself in the army has had such opportunities for contact with both officers and soldiers.

Now It Can Be Told. By Philip Gibbs. Harper & Brothers. 558 pp. Ill.

This new book by Mr. Gibbs differs from its predecessors in that it is more than a chronicle of events. His purpose now is to reveal the realities of war as they could not be revealed while the war itself was in progress. Needless to say, some of these revelations are extremely painful, and Mr. Gibbs hopes that their mere statement may so impress men's minds as to help bring about a system of international relations that will prevent or at least postpone another sacrifice of youth such as the world has just witnessed.

Gun Fodder. By A. Hamilton Gibbs. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. 313 pp.

Major A. Hamilton Gibbs, younger brother of the war correspondent, here tells the story of four years of war as he experienced it. In 1914 young Gibbs, who was an Oxford graduate and author, enlisted in the British cavalry, and later



PORTRAIT OF A SERGEANT IN THE A. E. F.
(Painted by Joseph Cummings Chase and reproduced in "Soldiers All")

trained with a division of field artillery for service in Egypt and in Salonica. He was invalided home in 1916, but in the spring of 1917 went to the Western Front with a field battery. In 1918, a Major, decorated with the military cross, he was in the retreat to the Marne, which he describes in this volume. During the Allied advance Major Gibbs was gassed and put out of the fight. As a personal narrative this book is a distinct success.

Fighting Without a War. By Ralph Albertson. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. 138 pp. Ill.

This is an account of military intervention in North Russia. The Allied expedition at the Archangel front has never been authoritatively described, and it is doubtless true, as Mr. Albertson asserts, that neither he nor any other man saw all of what happened to that expedition. For so much as Mr. Albertson is able to tell us we have reason to be thankful, since the censorship, up to the present time, has prevented any connected account reaching the American public. As a Y. M. C. A. secretary, first with the American troops and after their withdrawal with the British, Mr. Albertson has personal knowledge of the trials and hardships of the expedition, and of its dealings with the Russian people.

The Spirit of Selective Service. By Major General E. H. Crowder, U. S. Army. The Century Company. 367 pp.

General Crowder will always be remembered as the man who in 1917 created the machinery

of the great American draft of 4,000,000 men, and to the amazement of the doubters made that machinery work. The principle of selective service was no new thing to General Crowder. For years he had made a study of the various foreign systems of compulsory military training. It is because he believes that the system of selective service which the United States organized during the war should be preserved and applied to the activities of peace that he has written this book. He would use the system to promote education, settle labor disputes, and in hundreds of other ways increase the national efficiency.

First Reflections on the Campaign of 1918.

By R. M. Johnston. Henry Holt & Co. 79 pp.

During the last year of the war Major Johnston

was attached to the American General Staff at General Pershing's headquarters in France. He made several visits to the front and saw the American war machine in action. This little book is offered as a constructive criticism of our military system.

Alsace in Rust and Gold. By Edith O'Shaughnessy (Mrs. Nelson O'Shaughnessy). Harper & Brothers. 183 pp. Ill.

Mrs. O'Shaughnessy visited Alsace in the autumn of 1918, just before the Armistice. What she saw and heard there inspired the present volume, which has to do chiefly with the "re-Gallicizing" of the Alsatian people and the new French administration.

BIOGRAPHY, LETTERS AND PERSONAL REMINISCENCE

Woodrow Wilson and His Work. By William E. Dodd. Doubleday, Page & Co. 369 pp. Ill.

Professor Dodd has written a sympathetic account of President Wilson's entire career, devoting considerably more than two-thirds of the volume to the seven years' occupancy of the White House. The several reforms that were initiated during the first Wilson Administration and have somewhat receded in popular interest since war issues have come to the front are clearly described by Professor Dodd and placed in proper perspective. There is also a good summary of the pacifist tendencies manifest in the first years of the European war, of the counteracting movement for preparedness, and the gradual change in public sentiment that finally led to America's active participation in the war within five months after Wilson's reelection on a non-war platform. Professor Dodd heartily defends the President in his appeal to the country to return a Democratic Congress, in his decision to go to Paris himself to negotiate peace terms, and in his course throughout the negotiations. While it is clear that the President is bitterly disappointed in many features of the outcome, his biographer is fully convinced that he did all that any American could have done to obtain a just peace. He says in conclusion: "It is surely a record unsurpassed; and the fame of the man who now lies ill in the White House can never be forgotten, the ideals he has set and the movement he has pressed so long and so ably cannot fail. It is a compelling, almost a tragic, story."

Mercier, the Fighting Cardinal of Belgium.

By Charlotte Kellogg. D. Appleton & Company. 248 pp.

Mrs. Vernon Kellogg, as a member of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, had full opportunity to know Cardinal Mercier's work and the regard in which he was held by the Belgian people, especially during the first two years of the war. Her book is a tribute to the brave and devout life of the great Belgian prelate. Written by an American woman, this story of the "fight-

ing Cardinal" will appeal with special force to thousands of Americans who last fall had the pleasure of welcoming this Prince of the Church to our own land.

My Quarter-Century of American Politics.

By Champ Clark. Harper & Brothers. Vol. I. 495 pp. Ill. Vol. II. 472 pp. Ill.

This being a political year, more than ordinary attention is likely to be bestowed on former Speaker Champ Clark's two-volume story of "My Quarter-Century of American Politics." It reminds us particularly of the Bryan silver campaign of 1896 and of Mr. Clark's own remarkable race for the Presidential nomination in 1912, when Democratic primaries supported him so strongly that he was able to travel, as he says, from coast to coast without leaving Clark territory, and when for eight successive ballots in the Baltimore Convention he had a clear majority of the delegates, and but for the enforcement of the two-thirds rule, would have received the nomination instead of Woodrow Wilson. The debates and personal contests during Mr. Clark's service in the House of Representatives are graphically described, and the work is well entitled to a place on the library shelf beside Blaine's "Twenty Years in Congress," "Cox's Three Decades of Federal Legislation," Senator John Sherman's "Reminiscences," and other books of the kind that students of American politics will easily recall.

Leonard Wood. By William Herbert Hobbs.

G. P. Putnam's Sons. 272 pp. Ill.

The Life of Leonard Wood. By John G.

Holme. Doubleday, Page & Company. 228 pp. Ill.

Of the making of Leonard Wood books it seems that the end is not yet. In our April number we noticed the biography by Eric Fisher Wood, and some months ago mention was made of the smaller book by Joseph Hamblen Sears. Another serviceable and readable volume of the same group is Professor William Herbert Hobbs' sketch of General Wood as "administrator, sol-

dier and citizen." Essentially the same ground is covered by Mr. John G. Holme, an experienced newspaper man, and if the Chicago Convention in June next should take action that would cause a demand from the country for a so-called "campaign life" of General Wood, there is some satisfaction in knowing that the order has already been filled.

Arguments and Speeches of William Maxwell Evarts. Edited, with an introduction, by his son, Sherman Evarts. Macmillan. Vol I. 722 pp. Vol. II. 647 pp. Vol. III. 461 pp. Ill.

These addresses and legal arguments serve to reveal to readers of to-day the mind and character of one of the great lawyers of the past generation. The late Joseph H. Choate spoke of Mr. Evarts, who was the senior partner in the famous law firm of Evarts, Southmayd and Choate, as "the quickest witted man I ever met on either side the water." Mr. Evarts was retained in a great number of historic cases—the impeachment trial of President Johnson, the Alabama claims, the Beecher-Tilton trial, and the disputed Presidential election of 1876.

Rambling Recollections. An Autobiography by A. D. Rockwell, M.D. Paul B. Hoeber. 332 pp. Ill.

A New York City physician's memories of a long life, during which he has enjoyed personal acquaintance with an unusually large number of

celebrities, national and local. Dr. Rockwell was a surgeon in Sheridan's army and after the Civil War took a high place in the medical profession as a pioneer in the use of electricity for the treatment of disease. Later he led in the fight for substituting electrocution for hanging as a method of capital punishment.

Letters of Anton Chekhov. Translated by Constance Garnett. Macmillan. 416 pp.

The family of Anton Chekhov, the Russian novelist, has published 1890 of his letters. From this great mass of correspondence Mrs. Garnett has selected for translation those passages which seem to her to throw most light on the novelist's life, character and opinions. A biographical sketch, taken from the memoirs written by Chekhov's brother, introduces the volume.

Letters of Donald Hankey. With Introduction and Notes by Edward Miller, M.A. Fleming H. Revell Company. 356 pp. Ill.

As the author of "A Student in Arms," Donald Hankey endeared himself to thousands of readers on both sides of the Atlantic. To all these, and especially to such as knew the circumstances of his heroic death in the war, this volume of personal letters will possess the keenest interest. Hankey began writing at the age of twenty, when he was a subaltern in the British Army, and the last letter was dated October 6, 1916, six days before his death.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Wilderness. By Rockwell Kent. With drawings by the author and an Introduction by Dorothy Canfield. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 217 pp.

This "Journal of Quiet Adventure in Alaska" is made up of an artist's notes written on Fox Island, where the author sojourned with his young son from August 25, 1918, to March 17, 1919. In the introduction Dorothy Canfield speaks with enthusiasm of "the shining beauty which pervades the book and the drawings, carries us along to share it, not merely to look at it; to feel it, not merely to admire it."

Le Petit Nord, or Annals of a Labrador Harbor. By Anne Grenfell and Katie Spalding. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 198 pp. Ill.

A book made up of letters written by Dr. Wilfred T. Grenfell's wife and the nurse who accompanied them on their expeditions into the North Country. Dr. Grenfell himself is the author of most of the descriptions of Labrador life that have heretofore appeared. The present work is of special interest in that it gives the feminine viewpoint.

Unknown London. By Walter George Bell. John Lane Company, 254 pp. Ill.

This book gives definite information about a great number of things that even American readers know about, but which Mr. Bell asserts,



FOX ISLAND, RESURRECTION BAY, KENAI PENINSULA, ALASKA

(Sketch by Rockwell Kent, reproduced in "Wilderness")

nobody, even in London, knows. That is to say, many London antiquities and relics, that might easily be seen by anybody, have been neglected by Englishmen and outlanders alike. One of these historical objects is the Domesday Book itself, which, according to Mr. Bell, is "lying in the city of London in a public place, accessible to all without charge, and with no more trouble than is required by signing one's name—and nobody sees it or even can tell where it is."

AMERICANISM AND GOVERNMENT

The National Government of the United States. By Everett Kimball. Ginn and Company. 629 pp.

Since this entire volume of more than 600 pages is devoted to the Federal Government alone, without specific reference to State and local administrative units, the author has found it possible to incorporate a great deal of important material that is not to be found in other textbooks of American government. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the book is the free use that is made of the Supreme Court decisions, in so far as they interpret the Federal Constitution. In many instances the exact language of the decisions is given, thus enabling the student to come without delay to the authoritative source of all helpful discussion of constitutional principles. The book, as a whole, gives a good prospectus of the relations between all political activities on the part of the citizen and the actual functioning of the Government.

Americanism versus Bolshevism. By Ole Hanson. Doubleday, Page & Co. 299 pp.

The former Mayor of Seattle here exposes the workings of American Bolshevism as he has encountered it in the West. His book is an appeal to Americans of foreign birth or descent, as well as to those of the native stock, to defend the Government against the inroads of the I. W. W.

Democracy and Government. By Samuel Peterson. Alfred A. Knopf. 287 pp.

The author of this work, who is a lawyer, lecturer, and writer on governmental and legal subjects, criticizes our suffrage laws and the present electoral system and offers a program of governmental reorganization, by which he hopes to make

public officers responsible directly to the people and at the same time to obtain efficient officers.

American Democracy versus Prussian Marxism. By Clarence F. Birdseye. Fleming H. Revell Company. 371 pp.

In this volume Mr. Birdseye analyzes both Marxian socialism and the American system of government, in order to show that, while the one is practically identical with Prussian autocracy in its extreme form, the other is the embodiment of the best and most fruitful ideals of democracy.

The Making of a Nation. By Wentworth Stewart. Boston: The Stratford Co. 190 pp.

The bearing of Americanism and Americanization upon nation-building is the real theme of this book. All elements of our population, according to the author, must be fused into the national life. It is not enough that aliens applying for American citizenship should be formally naturalized, but if they are not to become a burden on the body politic, they must be made a vital part of it.

The Public Defender. By Mayer C. Goldman. With a foreword by Justice Wesley O. Howard. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 98 pp.

Those who read the articles on the Public Defender in the March number of this REVIEW will be interested to know that the argument in favor of the Public Defender, as a necessary factor in the administration of justice, has been admirably summarized in a little book by Mr. Mayer C. Goldman, of the New York Bar. The latest edition of this work gives full information regarding the progress of the movement throughout the country.

HANDBOOKS FOR ANGLERS

Bass, Pike, Perch and Other Game Fishes of America. By James A. Henshall. Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Company. 410 pp. Ill.

All the game fishes of the United States that live in the fresh-water lakes and streams east of the Rocky Mountains are described in this book. The author has added suggestions as to angling and tackle which are based on his personal experience during a period of more than sixty years on American waters from Canada to the West Indies and from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains.

Practical Fly Fishing. By Larry St. John. Macmillan. 175 pp. Ill.

This little book is intended as a companion to "Practical Bait Casting" by the same author. The author devotes a large proportion of his space to fly fishing for black bass. His reasons for so doing are the more general distribution of the bass, offering a greater number of anglers an opportunity to take them on a fly rod, the popularity of this phase of angling, and the fact that

the subject has been neglected by most writers who have dealt with angling in general.

Fishing Tackle and Kits. By Dixie Carroll. Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Company. 334 pp. Ill.

So well-known a "fishing editor" and writer as Dixie Carroll needs no introduction to American anglers. As editor of the *National Sportsman* and of departments in the *Chicago Daily News* and other newspapers, and as the author of several standard text-books on angling, he is known the country over. His present volume is filled with practical information on game fish and how to land them. Like all of Dixie Carroll's writings, the book is unconventional and charged with fishermen's good humor.

Streamcraft. By George Parker Holden. Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Company. 264 pp. Ill.

Another angling manual notable for the sprightliness of its style and the intrinsic interest of even its technical chapters.